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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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No. CXIII.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

Nº CXIII.

ART. I.—THE CITY OF MATHURA.

I. HISTORICAL.

THE city of Mathurá has been a place of note from remotest antiquity. In Buddhist times it was one of the centres of that religion, and its sacred shrines and relics attracted pilgrims even from China, two of whom have left records of their travels. The first, by name Fa Hian, spent, as he informs us, three years in Western Asia, visiting all the places connected with events in the life of the great teacher or of his immediate successors; his main object being to collect authentic copies of the oldest theological texts and commentaries to take back with him to his own country. Commencing his journey from Tibet, he passed successively through Kashmir, Kábul, Kandahár and the Panjáb and so arrived in Central India, the *madhya-des* of Hindu geographers. Here the first kingdom that he entered was Mathurá, with its capital of the same name situate on the bank of the Jamuná. All the people from the highest to the lowest were staunch Buddhists, and maintained that they had been so ever since the time of Sakya Muni's translation. This statement must be accepted with considerable reserve, since other evidence tends to show that Hinduism was the prevalent religion during part of the interval between Buddha's death and Fa Hian's visit, which was made about the year 400 A.D. He assures us, however, that many of the ecclesiastical establishments possessed copper plates engraved with the original deeds of endowment in attestation of their antiquity. In the capital—where he rested a whole month—and its vicinity, on the opposite banks of the river, were twenty monasteries, containing in all some 3,000 monks. There were moreover six relic-towers, or *stúpas*, of which the most famous was the one erected in honour of the great apostle Sári-putra. The five other *stúpas* are also mentioned by name; two of them commemorated respectively Ananda, the special patron of religious women, and Mudgala-putra, the great doctor of *Samádhi* or contemplative

devotion. The remaining three were dedicated to the cultus of the Abhi-dharma, the *Sútra* and the *Vináya*, divisions of the sacred books, treating respectively of Metaphysics, Religion and Morality, and known in Buddhist literature by the collective name of the Tri-pitaka or 'three baskets.'

Some 200 years later, Hwen Thsang, another pilgrim from the Flowery Land, was impelled by like religious zeal to spend sixteen years, from 629 to 645 A.D., travelling throughout India. On his return to China, he compiled by special command of the Emperor a work in twelve books entitled 'Memoirs of Western Countries,' giving succinct geographical descriptions of all the kingdoms, amounting in number to 128, that he had either personally visited, or of which he had been able to acquire authentic information. After his death, two of his disciples, wishing to individualize the record of their master's adventures, compiled in ten books a special narrative of his life and Indian travels. This has been translated into French by the great Orientalist, Mons. S. Julien. Mathurá is described as being 20 *li*, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circumference, and as containing still, as in the days of Fa Hian, 20 monasteries. But the number of resident monks had been reduced to 2,000, and five temples had been erected to Bráhmánic divinities; both facts indicating the gradual decline of Buddhism. Seven *stúpas* were revered as containing relics of the great teachers of the law; and apparently—though there is some slight variation in the titles—are the same as those mentioned by the earlier pilgrim, with the addition of one dedicated to the memory of Ráhula the son of Buddha. About a mile and a half to the east of the town was a monastery on a hill, said to have been built by Upagupta, where some hairs of his beard and parings of his nails were preserved as relics. At a hill to the north of this monastery was a cave, twenty feet high and thirty feet long, containing an immense quantity of little bambu spikes, representing the number of sainted men and women who had been converted by Upagupta, and who had taken him as their spiritual director. In the Memoirs it is added that 25 *li* to the south-east of this cave was a large dry tank, where it was said that one day as Buddha was pacing up and down, he was offered some honey by a monkey, which he graciously accepted. The monkey was so charmed at the condescension that he forgot where he was and in his ecstasy fell over into the tank and was drowned: as a reward for his meritorious conduct, when he next took birth, it was in human form. A little to the north of this tank was a wood with several *stúpas* to mark the spots that had been hallowed by the presence of the four earlier Buddhas, and where various famous teachers of the law had either sat in meditation or had expounded the scriptures.

After Hwen Tshang's visit in 634 A.D. there is no contemporary record of Mathurá till the year 1017, when it was sacked by Mahmúd of Gazni in his ninth invasion of India. The original source of information respecting Mahmúd's campaigns is the *Tárikh Yamíni* of Al Utbi, who was himself secretary to the Sultán, though he did not accompany him in his expeditions. He mentions by name neither Mathurá nor Mahá-ban, but only describes certain localities which have been so identified by Firishta and later historians. The place supposed to be Mahá-ban he calls 'the Fort of Kulchand,' a Rája who (he writes) "was justly confident in his strength; for no one had fought against him without being defeated. He had vast territories, enormous wealth, a numerous and brave army, huge elephants and strong forts, which no enemy had been able to reduce. When he saw that the Sultán advanced against him, he drew up his army and elephants in a 'deep forest' * ready for action. But finding every attempt to repulse the invaders fail, the beleaguered infidels at last quitted the fort, and tried to cross the broad river which flowed in its rear. When some 50,000 men had been killed or drowned, Kulchand took a dagger with which he first slew his wife and then drove it into his own body. The Sultán obtained by this victory 185 fine elephants besides other booty." In the neighbouring holy city, identified as Mathurá, "he saw a building of exquisite structure which the inhabitants declared to be the handiwork not of men but of Genii. The town-wall was constructed of hard stone and had opening on the river two gates, raised on high and massive basements to protect them from the floods. On the two sides of the city were thousands of houses, with idol temples attached, all of masonry and strengthened throughout with bars of iron; and opposite them were other buildings supported on stout wooden pillars. In the middle of the city was a temple larger and finer than the rest, to which neither painting nor description could do justice. The Sultán thus wrote respecting it: If any one wished to construct a building equal to it, he would not be able to do so, without expending a hundred million dinars, and the work would occupy two hundred years, even though the most able and experienced workmen were employed. Orders were given that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire and levelled with the ground." The city was given up to plunder for twenty days. Among the spoil are said to have been five great idols of pure gold with eyes of rubies and adornments of other precious stones, together with a vast number of smaller silver images, which when broken up formed a load for more than a hundred camels. The total value of the spoil has been estimated

* These words may be intended as a literal translation of the name Mahá-bau.

*at three millions of rupís ; while the number of Hindus carried away into captivity exceeded 5,000.

Nizám-ud-dín, Firishhta and the other late Muhammadan historians take for granted that Mathurá was at that time an exclusively Bráhmanical city. It is barely possible that such was really the case ; but the original authorities leave the point open, and speak only in general terms of idolators, a name equally applicable to Buddhists. Many of the temples, after being gutted of all their valuable contents, were left standing ; probably because they were too massive to admit of easy destruction. Some writers allege that the conqueror spared them on account of their exceeding beauty, founding this opinion on the eulogistic expressions employed by Mahmúd in his letter to the Governor of Gazni quoted above. It is also stated that, on his return home, he introduced the Indian style of architecture at his own capital, where he erected a splendid mosque, upon which he bestowed the name of 'the Celestial Bride.' But, however much he may have admired the magnificence of Mathurá, it is clear that he was influenced by other motives than admiration in sparing the fabric of the temples ; for the gold and silver images, which he did not hesitate to demolish, must have been of still more excellent workmanship.

During the period of Muhammadan supremacy, the history of Mathurá is almost a total blank. The natural dislike of the ruling power to be brought into close personal connection with such a centre of superstition divested the town of all political importance ; while the Hindu pilgrims, who still continued to frequent its impoverished shrines, were not invited to present, as the priests were not anxious to receive, any lavish donation which would only excite the jealousy of the rival faith. Thus, while there are abundant remains of the earlier Buddhist period, there is not a single building, nor fragment of a building, which can be assigned to any year in the long interval between the invasion of Mahmúd in 1017 A.D., and the reign of Akbar in the latter half of the 16th century.

Nor can this be wondered at, since whenever the unfortunate city did attract the emperor's notice, it became at once a mark for pillage and desecration : and the more religious the sovereign, the more thorough the persecution. Take for example the following passage from the *Tárikh-i-Dáúdi* of Abdullah, a writer in the reign of Jahángír, who is speaking of Sultán Sikandar Lódí (1488—1516 A.D.), one of the most able and accomplished of all the occupants of the Delhi throne : " He was so zealous a Musalmán that he utterly destroyed many places of worship of the infidels, and left not a single vestige remaining of them. He entirely ruined the shrines of Mathurá, that mine of heathenism, and turned their

principal temples into *saraes* and colleges. Their stone images, were given to the butchers to serve them as meat-weights, and all the Hindús in Mathurá were strictly prohibited from shaving their heads and beards and performing their ablutions. He thus put an end to all the idolatrous rites of the infidels there; and no Hindu, if he wished to have his head or beard shaved, could get a barber to do it."

After a short space of tolerant government,* the old career of wanton destruction was renewed by Aurangzeb, the Oliver Cromwell of India; who thought to destroy even the ancient name of the city, by substituting for it Islámpur or Islámabád; and it is only from the days when the Játs and Mahrattas began to be the virtual sovereigns of the country that any series of monumental records exists.

It was, while still only a competitor for the throne, that Aurangzeb first saw Mathurá. This was in 1658, a few days after the momentous battle of Samogarh,† in which the combined forces of himself and Murád Bakhsh had routed the army of their elder brother Dárá. The two princes, as they encamped together, appeared to be on the most cordial and affectionate terms; and Aurangzeb, protesting that for himself he desired only some sequestered spot, where unharassed by the toils of government he might pass his time in prayer and religious meditation, persistently addressed Murád by the royal title as the recognized successor of Shah Jahán. The evening was spent at the banquet; and when the wine cup had begun to circulate freely, the pious Aurangzeb, feigning religious scruples, begged permission to retire. It would have been well for Murád had he also regarded the prohibition of the *Korán*. The stupor of intoxication soon overpowered him, and he was only restored to consciousness by a contemptuous kick from the foot of the brother who had just declared himself his faithful vassal. That same night the unfortunate Murád, heavily fettered, was sent a prisoner to Delhi and thrown into the fortress of Salím-garh. He was subsequently removed to Gwáliár and there murdered.

In spite of the agreeable reminiscences which a man of Aurangzeb's temperament must have cherished in connection with a place where an act of such unnatural perfidy had been successfully accomplished, his fanaticism was not a whit mitigated in favour of the city of Mathurá. In 1668 a local rebellion afforded him a fit pretext for a crusade against Hinduism. The insurgents

* As an indication of importance, it may be mentioned that in Akbar's time there was a mint at Mathurá, though only for copper coinage.

† Samogarh is a village, one march from Agra, since named in honour of the event Fathabád, 'the place of victory.'

• had mustered at Siahora, a village in the Mahá-ban pargana, where (as we learn from the Maásir-i-Alamgíri) the Governor Abd-ul-Nabi advanced to meet them. "He was at first victorious and succeeded in killing the ringleaders; but in the middle of the fight he was struck by a bullet and died the death of a martyr." He was followed in office by Saff-Shikan Khán; but as he was not able to suppress the revolt, which began to assume formidable dimensions, he was removed at the end of the year 1669 and, Hasap Alí Khán appointed Faujdár in his place. The ringleader of the disturbances, a Ját, by name Kokila, who had plundered the Sa'dábád pargana, and was regarded as the instrument of Abd-ul-Nabi's death, fell into the hands of the new Governor's Deputy, Shaikh Rázi-ud-dín, and was sent to Agra and there executed. A few months earlier, in February of the same year, during the fast of Ramazán, the time when religious bigotry would be most inflamed, Aurangzeb had descended in person on Mathurá. The temple specially marked out for destruction was one built so recently as the reign of Jahángir, at a cost of 33 lakhs, by Bír Sinh Deva, Bundela, of Urcha. Beyond all doubt this was the famous shrine of Kesava Deva, of which further mention will be made hereafter.

In 1707 Aurangzeb died; and the land had rest for 50 years, till 1756, when Ahmad Sháh Durani, the King of Kandahár, was provoked by Gházi-ud-dín, the rebellious Vazír of the Emperor Alamgír II, to a renewed invasion of India. On the arrival of his army before Delhi, Gházi-ud-dín by a timely submission obtained pardon for himself; but was less successful, perhaps less importunate, in diverting the invader from the levy of a pecuniary compensation from the people. Not only was the capital given up to plunder, but the town of Mathurá also was surprised by a detachment of troops, during the celebration of a religious festival, and thousands of unoffending pilgrims, with whom the holy city was then crowded, were massacred with the utmost brutality.

It happened also to be at Mathurá that Ghulám Kádír in 1788 expiated by a most horrible death the cruel tortures he had inflicted on the miserable Emperor, Sháh Alam. He had fled to Mírat and was endeavouring to escape from there at night alone and on horseback, when he fell into a well from which he was unable to extricate himself. There he was found on the following morning by a Bráhman peasant, by name Bhikhá,* who had him seized and taken to the Mahratta camp. Thence he was despatched to Sindhia, who was at Mathurá, one of his most favourite residences. He first sent him through the bazár on an ass with his head to the tail, preceded by a herald proclaiming his rank and titles, and then

* Vide Keene's Mughal Empire.

had him mutilated of all his members one by one, his tongue being first torn out, and then his eyes, and subsequently his nose, ears, and hands cut off. In this horrible condition he was despatched to Delhi; but to anticipate the death from exhaustion, which seemed imminent, he was hanged on a tree by the road-side. Thus, throughout the Muhammadan period Mathurá twice only claims a conspicuous place in the pages of history; once at the very first appearance of the conquering race, and once again in the last days of the declining empire. On both occasions the events to be recorded are of a similar character, *viz.*, plunder and massacre; while the more domestic incidents which crop up to the surface during the same long period are equally characterized by baseness and barbarity.

It was in 1803 that Mathurá passed under British rule and became a military station on the line of frontier which was then definitely extended to the Jamuná. This was at the termination of the successful war with Daulat Ráo Sindhiá; when the independent French state, that had been established by Perron and was beginning to assume formidable dimensions, had been extinguished by the fall of Aligarh; while the protectorate of the nominal sovereign of Delhi, transferred by the submission of the capital, invested the administration of the Company with the prestige of Imperial sanction. In September of the following year Mathurá was held for a few days by the troops of Holkar Jasavant Ráo; but on the arrival of reinforcements from Agra was re-occupied by the British finally and permanently. Meanwhile Holkar had advanced upon Delhi, but the defence was so gallantly conducted by Ochterlony that the assault was a signal failure. His army broke up into two divisions, one of which was pursued to the neighbourhood of Farrukhabád and there totally dispersed by General Lake; while the other was overtaken by General Fraser between Díg and Gobardhan, and defeated with great slaughter. In this latter engagement the brilliant victory was purchased by the death of the officer in command, who was brought into Mathurá fatally wounded and survived only a few days. He was buried in the Cantonment Cemetery, where a monument is erected to his memory with the following inscription:

Sacred to the memory of Major-General Henry Fraser, of His Majesty's 11th Regiment of Foot, who commanded the British Army at the Battle of Deig on the 18th of November 1804, and by his judgment and valour achieved an important and glorious victory. He died in consequence of a wound he received when leading on the troops, and was interred here on the 25th of November 1804, in the 40th year of his age. The army lament his loss with the deepest sorrow; his country regards his heroic conduct with grateful admiration; history will record his fame and perpetuate the glory of his illustrious deeds.

The next half-century was a period of undisturbed peace and

growing prosperity; and simply recording the fact that in 1832 the city of Mathurá was made the capital of a new district, then formed out of parts of the old districts of Agra and Sa'dábád, we come down to the year 1857. It was on the 14th of May in that eventful year that news arrived of the mutiny at Mirat. Mr. Mark Thornhill, who was then Magistrate and Collector of the district, with Ghulám Husain as Deputy Collector, sent an immediate requisition for aid to Bharatpur. Captain Nixon, the Political Agent, accompanied by Chaudhari Ratn Singh, chief of the five sardárs, and Gobardhan Singh the Faujdár, came with a small force to Kosi on the northern border of the district, and there staid for a time in readiness to check the approach of the Mewatis of Gurgáon, and the other rebels from Delhi. Mr. Thornhill had meanwhile removed to Chhátá, a small town on the high-road some eight miles short of Kosi, as being a place which was at once a centre of disaffection, and at the same time possessed in its fortified *sardé* a stronghold capable of long resistance against it. The first outbreak, however, was at Mathurá itself. The sum of money then in the district treasury amounted to rather more than 5½ lakhs, and arrangements had been made for its despatch to Agra, with the exception of one lakh kept in reserve for local requirements. The escort consisted of one company of soldiers from the cantonments, supported by another company which had come over from Agra for the purpose. The chests were being put on the carts, when one of the subadárs suddenly called out *hoshiyár sipáhi*, 'look alive, my man,' which was evidently a preconceived signal; and at once a shot was fired, which killed Captain Nixon dead on the spot. The rebels then seized the treasure, together with the private effects of the residents in the station which were also ready to be transported to Agra, and went off in a body to the Magistrate's Court-house, which they set on fire, destroying all the records, and then took the road to Delhi. But, first they broke open the jail and carried all the prisoners with them as far as the city, where they got smiths to strike off their fetters. Besides Captain Nixon one of the treasury officials also was killed. An attempt was made to check the rebel body as it marched through Chhátá, but it was quite ineffectual, and on the 31st of May they entered the town of Kosij. There after burning down the customs *cungalow* and pillaging the Police Station, they proceeded to plunder the Tahsili. But some Rs. 150 was all they could find in the treasury, and most of the records also escaped them. The townspeople and most of the adjoining villages remained well-affected to the Government; and subsequently as a reward one year's revenue demand was remitted, and a grant of Rs. 50 made to each Jumbardár. Mr. Thornhill and the other Europeans with him now

determined to abandon their position at *Chhátá* and return to *Mathurá*, where they took refuge in the city in the house of *Seth Lakhmi Chand*. While there, a report came that the *Játs* had set up a *Rájá*, one *Deví Sinh*, at *Rayá* on the other side of the *Jamuná*. His reign was of no long continuance, for the *Kota* Contingent, which happened to be on the spot at the time, seized and hanged him with little ceremony. But as soon as this was accomplished, they themselves mutinied; and *Mr. Thornhill*, who had accompanied them to *Rayá*, had to make a hasty flight back to *Mathurá*, bringing some small treasure in the buggy with him.

On the 6th of July the mutineers of *Morár* and *Nimach* on their retreat from *Agra* entered the city. In anticipation of their arrival *Mr. Thornhill*, disguised as a native, and accompanied by a trusty *jamadár*, *Diláwar Khán*, started to flee to *Agra*. When they reached *Aurangabád*, only some four miles on the way, they found the whole country on both sides of the road in the possession of the rebels. The men whom the *Seth* had despatched as an escort took fright and decamped; but the *jamadár* by his adroit answers to all enquiries was enabled to divert suspicion, and bring *Mr. Thornhill* safely through to *Agra*. On the suppression of the disturbances, he received as a reward for his loyalty a small piece of land on the *Brinda-ban* road, just outside *Mathurá*, called after the name of a *Bairági* who had once lived there, *Dudhádári*.

Though the rebels stayed two days in *Mathurá* before they passed on to *Delhi*, the city was not given up to general plunder, partly in consequence of the prudent management of *Seth Mangi Lal* who levied a contribution according to their means on all the principal inhabitants. At this time *Seth Lakhmi Chand* was at *Dig*, but the greater part of his establishment remained behind, and rendered Government the most valuable assistance by the despatch of intelligence. Order in the city was chiefly maintained by *Imdád Ali Khán*, *Tahsildar* of *Kosi*, who had been specially appointed Deputy Collector.

On the 26th of September, the rebels in their retreat from *Delhi* again passed through *Mathurá*. Their stay on this occasion lasted for a week, and great oppression was practised on the inhabitants, both here and in the neighbouring town of *Brinda-ban*. They were only diverted from general pillage by the influence of one of their own leaders, a *Súbadár* from *Nimach*, by name *Hirá Sinh*, who prevailed upon them to spare the Holy City. For a few days there was a show of regular government; some of the chief officers in the Collector's Court, such as the *Sadr Kanungo Rahmat-ullah*, the *Sarishtadár Manohar Lal* and *Vázir Ali*, one of the *Muharrirs*, were taken by force and compelled to issue the orders of the new administrators; while *Maulvi Karámat Ali* was pre-

claimed in the Jama Masjid as the Viceroy of the Delhi Emperor. It would seem that he also was an involuntary tool in their hands, as he was subsequently put on his trial but acquitted. He is since dead. It is said that during their stay in the city, the rebels found their most obliging friends among the Mathuriya Chaubés, who, perhaps, more than any others have grown rich and fat under the tolerance of British rule. After threatening Brindá-ban with their cannon and levying a contribution on the inhabitants, they moved away to Hathras and Bareilly. Mír Imdád Ali and the Seth returned from Bharatpur; and in October Mr. Thornhill arrived from Agra, with a company of troops, which in the following month he marched up to Chhátá. There the rebel Zamindárs had taken possession of the fortified *sardá* and one of its bastions had to be blown up before an entry could be effected: at the same time the town was set on fire and partially destroyed, and twenty-two of the leading men were shot. A few days previously Mír Imdád Ali with Nathu Lál, Tahsildár of Sahár, had gone up into the Kosi pargana and restored order among the Gújars there, who alone of all the natives of the district had been active promoters of disaffection. While engaged in their suppression, Imdád Ali received a gun-shot wound in the chest; but fortunately it had no fatal result, and he is now Deputy Collector of Káunhpur, with a special additional allowance of Rs. 150 per mensem. By the end of November general tranquillity was restored; but it was not till July 1858 that the treasury was transferred from the Seth's house in the city to the Police Lines in the Civil Station.* In Christmas week of the following year, 1859, the Viceroy held a Darbár, in which many honours were conferred upon different individuals, and in particular the ten villages, which the Gújars had forfeited by their open rebellion were bestowed upon Rája Gobind Sinh in acknowledgment of his distinguished loyalty and good services. The value of this grant has been largely diminished by the persistent lawlessness of the ejected Gújars, who have always sullenly resented the loss of their estates. A few months ago their ill-deeds culminated in the barbarous murder of the widowed Ráuf's land-agent, Jay Rám Singh, who was rash enough to pass the night in Jatwári, one of the confiscated villages.

II. ANTIQUARIAN AND TOPOGRAPHICAL.

In consequence of the changes in religion and the long lapse of time, the whole of the ancient Buddhist buildings described by the Chinese pilgrims had been overthrown, buried and forgotten till quite recently, when some fragments of them have been again

* Here it remained till after the completion in 1861 of the new Court-house and district offices, which, with important results to archaeological research, as will hereafter be shown, were rebuilt on a new site.

brought to light. The first discovery was made by General Cunningham in 1853, who noticed some capitals and pillars lying about within the enclosure of the Katra, the site of the Hindu temple of Kesava Deva. A subsequent search revealed the architrave of a gateway and other sculptures, including in particular a standing figure of Buddha, 3½ feet high, which was found at the bottom of a well, with an inscription at its base recording the gift of the statue to the 'Jasa Vihara' or 'Convent of Glory,' which may be taken as the name of one of the Buddhist establishments that had existed on the spot. The date of the presentation was recorded in figures which could not be certainly decyphered.*

A far more important discovery was made in 1860, in digging the foundation of the Magistrate and Collector's new Court-house. The site selected for this building was an extensive mound overhanging the Agra road at the entrance to the Civil Station. It had always been regarded as merely the remains of a series of brick-kilns, and had been further protected against exploration by the fact that it was crowned by a small mosque. This was for military reasons blown down during the mutiny; and afterwards, on clearing away the rubbish and excavating for the new foundations, it was found to have been erected, in accordance with the common usage of the Muhammadan conquerors, upon the ruins of a destroyed temple. A number of Buddhist statues, pillars and bas-reliefs were disinterred; and from the inscriptions, which have been partially decyphered, it appears that the mound was occupied by at least four monasteries, bearing, according to General Cunningham, the names of Sanghamittra-sada Vihāra, Udapani Arāma, Huvishka Vihāra, and Kundo-khara †, or as it may be read, Kunda-suka Vihāra. On the pedestal of a seated figure was found recorded the first half of a king's name Vasu; the latter part was broken away, but the lacuna should probably be supplied with the word 'Deva,' as a group of figures inscribed with the name of King Vasudeva and date Sambat 87, was discovered in 1871 at a neighbouring mound called the 'Kankālī tilā.' Transcripts and translations of many of the inscriptions have been recently made by the learned Sanskrit scholar, Bābū Rājendra Lāl Mitra, and published in the *Journal of the Calcutta Asiatic Society* for 1870. They are all brief votive records giving only the name of the obscure donor accompanied by some stereotyped religious formula. The dates, which it would be interesting to ascertain, are indicated by figures difficult to decypher, and which when decyphered still leave uncertain the era intended. The Bābū concludes that they refer to the Saka era,

* This statue was one of those removed by Dr. Playfair to the Museum at Agra.

† It must be admitted that Kundo-

khara, i.e., Kunda-pushkara, is a very questionable compound, since the two members of which it is composed would bear each precisely the same meaning.

beginning from 76 A.D. ; and if so, they range between 120 and 206 A.D. ; but it is quite possible that they are computed from some more exclusively Buddhist era, of which there were several in use. The most numerous remains were portions of stone railing of the particular type used to enclose Buddhist shrines and monuments. These have been collected in the grounds of the Agra Museum and roughly put together in such a way as to indicate the original arrangement. Many of the pillars were marked with figures as a guide to the builder ; and thus we learn that one set, for they were of various sizes, consisted of at least as many as 129 pieces. There were also found three large seated figures of Buddha, of which two were fully, the third a little less, than life size ; and the bases of some 30 large columns. It was chiefly round these bases that the inscriptions were engraved. One of the most noticeable fragments was a stone hand, measuring a foot across the palm, which must have belonged to a statue not less than from 20 to 24 feet in height. It would be interesting to unearth the remainder of this enormous colossus. Most of the sculptures were executed in common red sandstone and were of indifferent workmanship ; in every way inferior to the specimens more recently discovered at other mounds in the neighbourhood. The most artistic was the figure of a dancing-girl, rather more than half life-size, in a natural and graceful attitude. Like the so-called figure of Silenus discovered by James Prinsep in 1836, it was probably the work of a Greek artist : a conjecture which involves no historical difficulty, since in the Yuga-Purāna of the Gārgi-Saṁhitā, written about the year 50 B.C., it is explicitly stated that Mathurá was reduced by the Greeks, and that their victorious armies advanced into the very heart of Hindustán, even as far as Pátali putra. The text is as follows* :—

Tatah Sáketam ákramya Pauchálán Mathurám tathá
Yavaná dustha-vikrántáh prápsyanti Kusumadhvajam.

Tatah Pushpapure prápte.

Akulá vishayáh sarve bhavishyantina sansayah.

As mentioned above, one of the inscriptions gave the name of Huvishka, and is therefore of special interest, since the Rájá-Taranginí mentions among the successors of the great Asoka, in the latter half of the century immediately preceding the birth of Christ, three kings of foreign descent named Hushka (or Huvishka), Pushka, and Kanishka. The later Muhammadan writers represent them

* I quote from Dr. Kern's Brihat-Saṁhitā : for though several of the Mathurá Pandits have good collections of MSS., the Gārgi-Saṁhitā is so scarce a work that it is not to be found in any of them. The siege of Saketa is

ascertained to have taken place early in the reign of Menander, who ascended the throne in the year 144 B.C. Pushpa-mitra being at that time King of Pataliputra.

as brothers ; but it is not so stated in the Sanskrit chronicle, the words of which are simply as follows :—

Hushka—Jushka—Kanishkakhyás trayas tatraiva párthiváh.
Te Turushkánvay-odbhútá api punyaśrayá nripáh.
*Prágye rájyakshane tesham práyáḥ Káshmrá-mandalam.
Bhojyamáste oha Baudhdhánám pravrajyor jita-tejasám.

Their dominions are known to have included Kábul, Kashmir and the Panjáb ; and recently-discovered inscriptions, as this at Mathurá, imply that their sway extended further over a considerable portion of Upper India. It is true that many of the religious buildings in holy places have been founded by foreign princes who had no territorial connection with the neighbourhood ; but there seems to have been some special bond of union between Mathurá and Kashmír. Incredible as it has been deemed by most geographers, it is yet within the range of possibility, that Ptolemy intended, by the close similarity of names to indicate a connection between *Κασσηρία* ὑπὸ τὰς τοῦ Βιδάσπιδος καὶ τοῦ Σουδῶβαλ καὶ τοῦ Ροαδῶος πηγῶν—that is Kasperia, or Kashmír, at the sources of the Vitasta, the Chandrá-bhága and the Rávi—and the Kaspeircei, dwelling lower down on the Vindhya range and the banks of the Jamuná, one of whose chief towns was Mathurá. For, further, Ptolemy represents ἡ πανδῶων χώρα the country of Pándu, as lying in the neighbourhood of the Vitasta, or Jhelam ; while Arrian, quoting from Megasthenes, says it derived its name from Pandœa, the daughter of Hercules, the divinity specially venerated by the Suraseni on the the Jamuná. Thus, as it would seem, he identifies Mathurá, the chief town of the Suraseni, with Pandœa. Balaráma, one of its two tutelary divinities, may be certainly recognized as Belus, the Indian Hercules ; while, if we allow for a little distortion of the original legend, Prithá, another name of Kuntí, the mother of the Pándavas and sister of Krishna and Balaráma's father, Vasudeva, may be considered the native form which was corrupted into Pandœa. In historical illustration of the same line of argument it may be remarked that Gonarda I, the King of Kashmír contemporary with Krishna, is related (Rája-tarangini I., 59) to have been a kinsman of Jarásandha and to have assisted him in the siege of Mathurá. He was slain there on the bank of the Kalindi, i.e., the Jamuná, by Balaráma. His son and successor, Dámódara, a few years later, thinking to avenge his father's death, made an attack on a party of Krishna's friends as they were returning from a wedding at Gandhára near the Indus, but himself met his death at that hero's hands. The next occupant of the throne of Mathurá in succession to Jarásandha was Karna, the faithful ally of the Kauravas, against whom the great war was waged by Krishna and the Pándavas. Gonarda II, the son of Dámódara, was too young to take any part in the protracted struggle ; but the reigning

- houses of Mathurá and Kashmir acknowledged a common enemy in Krishna, and the fact appears to have conduced to a friendly feeling between the two families, which lasted for many generations. Thus we read in the *Rájá-tarangini* (IV., 512), that when Jayapída who reigned over Kashmir at the end of the 8th century after Christ, built his new capital of Jayapura, a stately temple was founded there and dedicated to Mahádeva under the title of Achesvara, by Achá, the son-in-law of Pramoda, the King of Mathurá. •

In close proximity to the mound where the antiquities, which we have described above, were discovered, is a large walled enclosure, called the Damdama, for some years past occupied by the reserves of the District Police, but originally one of a series of *sarás* erected in the time of the Emperor Jalál-ud-din Akbar, along the road between the two royal residences of Agra and Delhi. Hence the adjoining hamlet derives its name of Jalálpur; and for the sake of convenience when future reference is made to the mound it will be by that title. As it is at some distance to the south-east of the Katra, the traditional site of ancient Mathurá, and so far agrees with the position assigned by Hwen Thsang to the stúpa erected to commemorate Buddha's interview with the monkey, there is plausible ground for identifying the two places. The identification is confirmed by the discovery of the inscription with the name Kundo Khara or Kundasuka; for, whichever way the word is read, it would seem to contain a reference to a tank (Kunda), and a tank was the characteristic feature of Hwen Thsang's monkey stúpa. It at first appears a little strange that there should be, as the inscriptions lead us to infer, four separate monasteries on one hill, but General Cunningham states that in Barma, where Buddhism is still the national religion, such juxta-position is by no means uncommon.

Incidental allusion has already been made to the Kankáli—or as it is occasionally called, the Jaini, Tila. This is an extensive mound on the side of the road which leads from Jalálpur to the Katra. A fragment of a carved Buddhist pillar is set up in a mean little shed on its summit and does duty for the goddess Kankáli, to whom it is dedicated. A few years ago the hill was partially trenched, when two colossal statues of Buddha in his character of teacher were discovered. They are each $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height and are now in the grounds of the Agra Museum. Whatever else was found was collected on the same spot as the remains from the Jalálpur mound, and it is therefore possible (as no accurate note was made at the time) that some of the specimens referred to the latter locality were not really found there; but there is no doubt as to the inscriptions, and this is the only point of any importance. Recent excavations have resulted in the discovery of several

mutilated statues of finer stone and superior execution, and it is certain that many more still remain buried. The adjoining fields for a considerable distance are strewn with fragments applied to all sorts of vile purposes. A large figure of an elephant—unfortunately without its trunk—standing on the capital of a pillar and in all respects similar to the well-known example at Sankisa, but of much coarser work, was found in 1871 in a neighbouring garden. On the front of the abacus is engraved an inscription with the name of King Huvishka and date 'Sambat 39.' Another inscription containing the name of King Kanishka with date 'Sambat 9' was discovered the same day on the mound itself below a square pillar carved with four nude figures, one on each face. This is of special interest inasmuch as nude figures are always considered a distinctive mark of the Jain sect, which is supposed to be a late perversion of Buddhism, an opinion which will have to be modified if the date in the present instance has been correctly read.

The third of the principal Buddhist sites is the vicinity of the Katra. Here at the back of the temple of Bhutesvar Mahádeva is rather a high hill of very limited area, on the top of which stood, till removed by the writer, a Buddhist pillar of unusually large dimensions. It is carved in front with a female figure, nearly life-size, bearing an umbrella, and above her head is a grotesque bas-relief representing two monkeys, a bird and a misshapen human dwarf. Immediately opposite the temple is a large ruinous tank called Balbhadra Kund with a skirting wall into which had been built up some perfect specimens of the cross-bars of a Buddhist railing. These are remarkably curious; for though the uprights are often found, the smaller horizontal pieces of the balustrade are very rare; so much so that Fergusson in his History of Architecture speaks of the Sanchi railing as the only built example yet discovered; as an architectural ornament it may be seen carved on every ancient Buddhist shrine. From a well close by was recovered a plain pillar measuring 4 feet 7 inches in height by 11 inches in breadth carved in front merely with two roses. The elliptical holes in the sides of the pillar were too large for the cross-bars, which must have belonged to a smaller range. They measure only 1 foot 3 inches in length and are enriched with various devices, such as a rose, a lotus, some winged monster, &c. These were eleven in number: four of the most perfect were taken away by General Cunningham, the rest are still *in situ*. Built into the verandah of a *chaupál* close by were five other Buddhist pillars of elaborate design and almost perfect preservation. It is said that there was originally a sixth, which some years ago was sent down to Calcutta; there it has now been followed by two more; the remaining three are in the possession of the writer. They are each 4 feet 4 inches in height and 11 inches

broad ; the front is carved with a standing female figure whose feet rest upon a crouching monster. In an upper compartment divided off by a band of Buddhist railing, are two demi-figures, male and female, in amorous attitudes, of very superior execution. On one pillar the principal figure is represented as gathering up her drapery, in another as painting her face with the aid of a mirror, and in the third as supporting with one hand a water jar, and in the other, which hangs down by her side, holding a bunch of grapes. Each of these figures is entirely devoid of clothing : the drapery mentioned as belonging to one of them is simply being gathered up from behind. They have, however, a profusion of ornaments, *karas* on the ankles, a belt round the waist, a *mohan-málá* on the neck, *karn phuls* in the ears and *báju-band*, *chúri* and *pahunchi* on the arms and wrists. There are also three bas-reliefs at the back of each pillar ; the subject of one is most grossly indecent, another represents Buddha's mother, *Máyá Devi*, with the Bo-tree. A fragment of a pillar from one of the smaller concentric circles of this same set, was at some time sent to Lahor and is now to be seen in the museum there.

Close at the back of the Balbhadra Kund and the Katra is a range of hills of considerable elevation, commonly called *dhúl kot*, literally 'dust heaps,' the name given to the accumulation of refuse that collects outside a city, and so corresponding precisely to the Monte Testaccio at Rome. These are, however, clearly of natural formation and probably indicate the old course of the Jamuná. But at the distance of about a mile and half to the south-west is a group of some 12 or 14 circular mounds, strewn with fragments of brick and stone which would seem all to have been stúpas. Certainly one was, for in the year 1868 a road, leading to the village of Sonkh, was carried through it, and in the centre was disclosed a masonry cell containing a small gold reliquary, the size and shape of a pill-box. Inside was a tooth, the safe-guard of which was the sole object of box, cell and hill, but it was thrown away as of no value. The box was preserved on account of the material and has been given to the writer by Mr. Hind, the Engineer, whose workmen discovered it. As these hills are to the north of the Jalálpur mound they may with great probability be identified with the group of stúpas described by Hwen Tsaung as lying to the north of the monkey tank.

Just outside the south, or as it is called, the *East Gate* of the city, is a hill known as the *Kans-ká Tila*, from the summit of which the tyrant of that name is supposed to have been tumbled down by Krishna. General Cunningham suggests that this might be one of the seven great stúpas mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, and adds that on the north of the city there are two hills still bearing the names of *Anand* and *Vináyaka*, titles which

they specify. But in this it appears that he was misinformed, as no such localities can be traced. Of the hills to the north of Mathurá the most conspicuous are called respectively Kailás, Mahál, Hanumán, and Ganes. An Anant tirtha, easily to be confounded with Anand is noted in the Mathurá Mahatmya; and the fact that Vináyaka, besides its Buddhist meaning, is also an epithet of Ganes, may have given rise to an error in the other name. Further, all these hills, including the Kans-ká Tila appear to be of natural formation, the whole country being broken up into heights and hollows of indefinite number and extent.

It is evident that the Kankáli Tila was the site of a very large religious establishment, most probably the *Upagupta* monastery mentioned by Hwen Thsang as lying to the east of the town. It is a little to the east of the Katra, which may be taken as the centre of the old town, since local tradition invariably represents it to have been so. The town, no doubt, always stood on the water's edge; but the tradition is confirmed by the appearance of the ground immediately around the Katra, which has evidently been affected by fluvial action of water, and also by the present habits of the river which is persistent in endeavouring to desert its present channel in favour of one still more to the east. The stream may have so worked its way between the natural hills and artificial mounds that the temples which once stood on its east bank found themselves on the west, while those that were originally on the western verge of the river were eventually left far inland.* General Cunningham in his Archæological Report has identified the Upagupta monastery with the Jasa Vihára inside the Katra; but in all probability he would not now adhere to this theory; for, at the time when he advanced it, he had never visited the Kankáli Tila and was also under the impression that the Fort had always been, as it now is, the centre of the city. Even then to maintain his theory he was obliged to have recourse to a very violent expedient and in the text of the Chinese pilgrim alter the word "east" to "west" because, he writes, "a mile to the east would take us to the low ground on the opposite bank of the Jamuná where no ruins exist;" forgetting, apparently, Fa Hian's distinct statement that in his time there were monasteries on both sides of the river. This expression is true, must not be pressed too closely, since it may

* While these sheets were passing through the press, I discovered a very striking confirmation of the above view: for Tavernier, writing about the year 1850 says positively "The river used to flow at the foot of the temple (which preceded the

Katra), but for some years past it has taken a turn to the north and now flows at the distance of a kos or more, whence it comes about that the shrine is less frequented by pilgrims than it used to be."

refer exclusively, as it certainly refers in part, to the religious buildings in the town of Mahá-ban, which stands on the opposite bank of the river. But, however, this may be, it is certain that the topographical descriptions of the two pilgrims may be reconciled with existing facts without any tampering with the text of their narrative. Taking the Katra, or the adjoining shrine of Bhutesvar, as the omphalos of the ancient city, and the probable site of the great stúpa of Sáriputra, a short distance to the east will bring us to the Kankáli Tíla, i.e., the monastery of Upagupta; while the Jalálpur mound has already been identified with the monkey stúpa, and the mounds on the Sonkh road with "the stúpas of the four earlier Buddhas and other great teachers of the law."

On the decline of Buddhism, Mathurá acquired that character for sanctity which it still retains, as the reputed birth-place of the deified Krishna. Or more probably the triumph of Buddhism was a mere episode, on the conclusion of which the city re-acquired a character which it had before enjoyed at a much earlier period; for it may be inferred from the language of the Greek geographers that Bráhmaism was in their time the religion of the country, and Hindu tradition is uniform in maintaining its claims both to holiness and antiquity. Thus, in the ages preceding the Mahábhárata, it is represented as the second of the capitals of the Lunar race, which were in succession Prayág, Mathurá, Kusasthali, and Dwáraka; and in the following well-known couplet it is ranked among the seven sanctuaries of Hindustán:—

Kási Kántí oia Máyakhya twayodhyá Dwáravatyapi
Mathurávantiká chaitáh sapta puryo tra mokshadáh.*

At the present day though crowded with sacred sites, the traditional scenes of Krishna's adventures, there is not, thanks to Muhammadan intolerance, a single building of any antiquity either in the city or its environs. Its most famous temple, that dedicated to Kesava Deva, was destroyed as mentioned above, in 1669, in the eleventh year of the reign of the iconoclastic Aurangzeb. The mosque erected on its ruins is a building of little architectural value, but the natural advantages of its lofty and isolated position render it a striking feature in the landscape. The so-called Katra, in which it stands, a place to which frequent allusion has been made in the course of this sketch, is an oblong enclosure like a *sarái*, 804 feet in length by 653 feet in breadth. Upon a raised terrace, 172 feet long and 86 feet broad, stands the mosque, occupying the entire length of the terrace, but only 60 feet of its breadth. About 5 feet lower is another terrace measuring 286

* Kási, &c., Banáras; Kántí, pro- and Avantiká are the seven cities
bably Káuchi; Máya, i.e., Haridwár; of salvation.
with Ayodhyá, Dwáravati, Mathurá

feet by 268. There may still be seen let into the Mahammadan pavement some votive tablets with Nágari inscriptions dated Sambat 1718 and 1720, corresponding to 1656 and 1663 A.D. In the latter year the temple was seen standing by Bernier, who writes: "Between Delhi and Agra, a distance of fifty or sixty leagues, there are no fine towns, the whole road is cheerless and uninteresting; nothing is worthy of observation but Mathurá, where an ancient and magnificent pagan temple is still to be seen." The plinth of the temple-wall was traced by General Cunningham for a distance of 163 feet, and there is reason to believe it extended still further. The building is described at great length by Tavernier, who says it was the most important shrine in India after those of Jagannáth and Banáras.* It would seem to have been crowded with coarse figure-sculptures, and not in such pure taste as the somewhat older temple of Govind Deva at Brindá-ban and Hari Deva at Gobardhan; but it must still have been a most sumptuous and imposing edifice, and we cannot but detest the bigotry of the barbarian who destroyed it. At the time of its demolition it had been in existence only some fifty years, but it is certain that an earlier shrine, or series of shrines, on the same site and under the same dedication, had been famous for many ages. Thus it is said in the Váráha Purána,

Na Kesava samo deva na Máthura samo dvija.

"No god like Kesava, and no Bráhmaṇ like a Mathurirya Chaube."

In still earlier times the site had been appropriated by another religion, as is attested by the Buddhist remains which we have already described as found there.

In anticipation of Aurangzeb's raid the ancient image of the god was removed by Rājá Ráj Sinh of Mewár, and was set up on the spot where, as they journeyed, the wheels of the chariot sank in the deep sand and refused to be extricated. It happened to be an obscure little village, then called Siarh, on the Banás, 22 miles north-east of Udaypur. But the old name is now lost in the celebrity of the temple of Náth ji, 'the Lord,' which gives its designation to the town of Náthdwára, which has grown up round it. This is the most highly venerated of all the statues of Krishna. There are other seven of great repute, which also deserve mention here, as a large proportion of them came from the neighbourhood of Mathurá; viz., Naga-náth at Náthdwára; Mathurá-náth at Kota; Dwárá-kánáth at Kánarauli, brought from Kanauj; Gokul-náth or Gokul-chandranáth at Jaypur from Gokul; Jadu-náth at Súrat from Mahában; Bitthal-náth or Pándu-rang at Kota from Banáras; and Madan Mohan at Jaypur from Brindá-ban.

* General Cunningham's remarks singularly and unaccountably wide on the date of this temple are most of the mark.

At the back of the Katra is the modern temple of Kesava Deva, a cloistered quadrangle of no particular architectural merit, and except on special occasions little frequented in consequence of its distance from the main town. It is supported by an annual endowment of Rs. 1,027, the rents of the village of Uṇḍi in the Chhátá pargana. Close by is a very large quadrangular tank of solid masonry, called the Potara-kund; in which, as the name denotes, Krishna's "baby-linen" was washed. There is little or no architectural decoration, but the great size and massiveness of the work render it imposing, while the effect is greatly enhanced by the venerable trees which overhang the enclosing wall. Unfortunately the soil is so porous that the supply of water is rapidly absorbed and in every season but the rains the long flights of steps are dry to their very base. Its last restoration was made at considerable cost in 1850 by the Kámdár of the Gwáliár Ráj. A small cell on the margin of the tank, called indifferently Kára-grah, 'the prison-house' or Jaum-bhúmi 'the birth-place,' marks the spot where Vasudeva and Devakí were kept in confinement and where their son Krishna was born. The adjoining suburb, in its name Mall-pura, commemorates, it is said, Kansa's two famous *mallas*, i.e., "wrestlers," Chánura and Mushtiká.

In connection with the discovery of Buddhist antiquities, allusion has already been made to the temple of Bhutesvar Mahadeva, which overlooks the old and rainous Balbhadra-kund. In its present form it is a quadrangle of ordinary character with pyramidal tower and cloister built by the Mahrattas towards the end of last century. The site has probably been occupied by successive religious buildings from most remote antiquity, and was at one time the centre of the town of Mathurá, which has now moved away from it more than a mile to the east. In the earlier days of Bráhmaism, before the development of the Krishna cultus, it may be surmised that Bhútesvar was the special local divinity. There are in Braj three other shrines of Mahádeva of high traditional repute, in spite of the meanness of their modern accessories; viz., Kámesvar at Káma, Chakresvar at Gobardhan, and Gopesvar at Brindá-ban.

Of the many little shrines that cluster about the Balbhadra-kund, one is dedicated to Balaráma under his title of Dáu-jí, 'the elder brother'; another to Ganes, and a third to Ner-Sinká, 'the man-lion,' the fourth incarnation of Vishnu. According to the legend, there was an impious king, by name Hiranya-Kasipu, who claimed universal sovereignty over all powers on earth, heaven and hell. No one had the hardihood to oppose him, save his own son, the pious prince Prahlád, who was for ever singing the praises of the great god Vishnu. If, said the king, your god is everywhere present, let him now show himself in this pillar, which I strike.

At the word the pillar parted in twain and revealed the god in terrible form, half lion, half man, who seized the boastful monarch and tore him in pieces and devoured him.

In an adjoining orchard, called the Kází's Bâgh, is a small modern mosque and in connection with it a curious square building of red sand-stone. It now encloses a Muhammadan tomb, and if originally constructed for that purpose is a striking illustration of the influence of the *genius loci*; for it has nothing Saracenic about it, and is a good specimen of the pure Hindu style of architecture with characteristic columns and quasi arches.

After leaving the great entrance to the Katra the Delhi road passes a masonry well* called 'Kubjás,' in commemoration of the miracle which Krishna wrought in straightening the hump-backed maiden who met him there: and then, a little further on, crosses a petty natural water-course known as the Sarasvati Sangam, or confluence of the Sarasvatí. To the left is an open plain, where the sports of the Rám Lílâ are celebrated on the festival of the Dasahara, and close by a tank called the Sarasvati-kund, measuring 125 feet square. Owing to some fault in the construction, it is almost always dry, and the adjoining buildings have also rather a ruinous and deserted appearance. We learn, however, from an inscription on a tablet over the entrance to the temple that the last restoration was completed so recently as the year 1846 by two Sanádhs named Chhote Lal and Manu Lal, acting on the advice of the Gosáin Baladeva, a disciple of Swámi Paramhans; and that they expended on the lime alone no less a sum than Rs. 2,735. At no great distance is the temple of Mahá-Vidya Devi. The original image with that dedication is said to have been set up by the Pándavas; the present shrine, a *Sikhara* of ordinary character in a small quadrangle, was built by the Peshwá towards the end of last century. The hill, upon which it stands, is ascended by flights of masonry steps between 30 and 40 in number. At the foot is a small dry tank, completely overgrown with a dense jungle of *ber*, *pítu*, and *híns*. In the courtyard which occupies the entire plateau, is a *karíl* tree said to be of enormous age, under which may be seen, among other fragments, a Buddhist pillar carved with the figure of Máya Devi under a Bo-tree, and a square stone box with a seated Buddha on each of its four sides.

At several of the holy places, as we have had occasion to remark, a large tank forms one of the principal features; but the only one that can be called a success is the Siva Tál, not far from the Kankáli Tila. This is a spacious quadrangular basin of great

* Immediately opposite the well a fragment of a sculptured Buddhist pillar has been set up and receives religious honours as representing the hindu goddess Devi.

depth and always well supplied with water. It is enclosed in a high boundary wall with corner kiosques and a small arched doorway in the centre of three of its sides. On the fourth side is the slope for watering cattle, or Go-ghāt, with two memorial inscriptions facing each other, the one in Sanskrit, the other in Persian. From these we learn that the tank was constructed by order of Rājā Patni Mall in the year 1807 A.D. The design and execution are both of singular excellence and reflect the highest credit on the architect whom he employed; the sculptured arcades, which project far into the centre of the basin, and break up the long flights of steps into three compartments on each side, being especially graceful. The place is little visited except on the Sāluṇo, the full moon of the month of Sāwan, when it is the centre of a large *meṭa*. Outside the enclosure is a small temple in the same style of architecture dedicated to Mahādeva under the title of Achalesvar. In the Manoharpur quarter of the city is a large temple of the Rājā's foundation bearing the title of Dirgha Vishnu. The name is unusual and refers to the gigantic stature which the boy Krishna assumed when he entered the arena to fight with Kansā's champions, Chānura and Mushtikā. The Rājā's dwelling-house is still standing on the Nakārchi tīla and has been converted into a Normal School for the training of female teachers. He is further commemorated by another small shrine near the Holi-gate of the city, which he re-built in honour of Virā-bhadra, the terrible being created by Siva and Devī in their wrath, to disturb the sacrifice of Daksha, a ceremony to which they had not been invited.

From the Kātra, the centre of all the localities which we have hitherto been describing, a fine broad road has been carried through the rising grounds, along the outskirts of the city, down to the edge of the river. On the right hand side is the stone-cutters' quarter with the small old temple of Bankāndi Mahādeva; and on the left the suburb of Manoharpur, with a mosque which, as we learn from the inscription over the centre arch, was erected in the year 1158 Hijri, *i.e.*, 1745 A.D., during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. In the streets are many broken Buddhist pillars and other sculptures. The road was constructed in the Collectorate of Mr. Best, and in the progress of the work a column was found bearing an inscription in some ancient character: to reduce the size of the stone, the inscribed face was ruthlessly cut away and it was then converted into a buttress for a bridge. As it approaches the river, the road opens out into a fine square, with graceful arcades of carved stone, occupied as shops; and close by is a pontoon bridge, which was opened for traffic in 1870. The tolls are farmed at the large sum of Rs. 40,500 for the year: whence it is obvious that any reasonable outlay incurred in its construction would soon have been re-paid. But, unfortunately in the revision of estimates every

thing was sacrificed to a false economy; it was too narrow to allow of two carts passing, too weak to bear even a single cart if heavily laden, and to obviate a slight engineering difficulty and consequent expense, instead of being laid from the centre of the roadway and handsome square, where it would have produced a fine effect, it starts from behind a corner entirely out of sight. It was no sooner opened than it broke down; and repairs were in constant progress, till the night of the 13th of August 1871,—when it was completely swept away by a heavy flood. It has since been re-constructed; but it is impossible that it should ever present a satisfactory appearance, while at the same time its cost has been excessive.

The city stretches for about a mile and half along the right bank of the Jamuná, and from the opposite side has a very striking and picturesque appearance, which is owing not a little to the broken character of the ground on which it is built. Were it not for this peculiarity of site, the almost total absence of towers and spires would be felt as a great drawback; as all the large modern temples have no *sikharas*, as are usually seen in similar edifices, but are simple cloistered quadrangles of uniform height. The only exceptions are the lofty minarets of the Jama Masjid on the one side, and the campanile of the English Church seen through the trees in the distance below.

Looking up the stream, the most prominent object is the old Fort, or rather its massive substructure, for that is all that now remains, called by the people Kans ká-Kila. Whatever its legendary antiquity, it was re-built in historical times by Rájá Mán Sinh of Jaypur, the chief of the Hindu princes at Akbar's Court; and was the occasional residence of Mán Sinh's still more famous successor on the throne of Amber, the great astronomer Sawái Jay Sinh. He commenced his long reign of 44 years in 1699 A.D., and till the day of his death was engaged in almost constant warfare. Still he is less known to posterity by his military successes, brilliant though they were, than by his enlightened civil administration and still more exceptional literary achievements. At the outset he made a false move; for in the war of succession, that ensued upon the death of Aurangzeb, he attached himself to prince Bedár Bakht, and fought by his side in the fatal battle of Dholpur. One of the first acts of Sháh Alam on his consequent elevation to the throne was to sequester the principality of Amber. An Imperial Governor was sent to take possession, but Jay Sinh drove him out sword in hand, and then formed a league with Ajít Sinh of Márwár for mutual protection. From that day forward he was prominently concerned in all the troubles and warfare of that anarchic period, but never again on the losing side. In 1721 he was appointed Governor of the Province of Agta and later of

Málwá; but he gradually loosened his connection with the Court at Delhi, from a conviction that the dissolution of the Muham-madan empire was inevitable, and concluded terms with the Mah-rattas. At his accession Amber consisted only of the three Parganas of Amber, Deosa, and Barsao; as the Shaikháwats had made themselves independent, and the Western tracts had been attached to Ajmer. He not only recovered all that had been lost, but further extended his frontiers by the reduction of the Bargujars of Deoti and Rájáur, and made his State worthy to be called the dominions of a Rájá, a title which he was the first of his line to assume. The new capital, which he founded, he called after his own name Jaypur, and it is still to the present day the most striking native city in India and the only one built upon a regular plan. He is said to have been assisted both in the design and the execution by an architect from Bengal. In consequence of his profound knowledge of astronomy he was entrusted by Muhammad Sháh with the reformation of the calendar. To ensure that amount of accuracy which he considered the small instruments in ordinary use must always fail to command, he constructed observatories with instruments of his own invention on a gigantic scale. One of these was on the top of the Mathurá Fort, the others at Delhi, Jaypur, Ujaiyin, and Banáras. His success was so signal that he was able to detect errors in the tables of Dela Hire which had been communicated to him by the King of Portugal. His own tables were completed in 1728, and are those still used by native astronomers. He died in 1743. His voluminous correspondence is said by Tod* still to exist, and his acts to be recorded in a miscellaneous Diary entitled *Kalpadruma*, and a collection of anecdotes called the *Eksar nar gun Jay Sinh ká*. The whole of the Mathurá observatory has now disappeared. A little before the mutiny the buildings were sold to the great Government Contractor, Joti Prasád, who destroyed them for the sake of the materials. Certainly, they had ceased to be of any practical use; but they were of interest both in the history of science and as a memorial of one of the most remarkable men in the long line of Indian Sovereigns, and their inconsiderate demolition is matter for regret.

From the fort a continuous succession of Gháts, all simple flights of stone steps with occasional shrines and kiosques, lines the water's edge down to a large walled garden, below the city, called the Jamuná Bágh. This was the property of Seth Lákshmi Chand and contains two handsome *chhatris*, or cenotaphs, in memory of his two predecessors, Mani Rám and Párikh Ji. The latter was Treasurer to the Mahárájá of Gwáliár, and being childless adopted

* From whom all the facts in the above narrative are borrowed.

Mani Rám, one of his assistants in the same office, to whom he bequeathed all his immense wealth. The greater part of this devolved in turn upon the eldest of Mani Rám's three sons, the millionaire, Lakshmi Chand, who left an only son, Raghunáth Dás, the present head of the family. The two younger brothers, Rádhá Krishan and Gobind Dás, professed the Bráhmanical faith and founded the great temple of Rang Ji at Brindá-ban. The survivor, Gobind Dás, has no issue ; but stands in the light of a father to his nephew, Jánaki Dás, the only son of his deceased brother, Rádhá Krishan. About the centre of the river front is the most sacred of all the Gháts, marking the spot where Krishna sat down to take 'rest' after he had slain the tyrant Kansa, and hence called the Visránt Ghát. The small open court has a marble arch facing the water, which distinguishes it from all the other landing places ; and on the other three sides are various buildings erected at intervals during the last century and a half by several princely houses, but none of them possess any architectural beauty. Close by is a natural water-course, said to have been caused by the passage of Kansa's giant body, as it was dragged down to the river to be burnt, and hence called 'the Kansa Khar.' It is now arched over like the Fleet river in London, and forms one of the main sewers of the town ; a circumstance which possibly does not affect the sanctity, but certainly detracts somewhat from the material purity of this favourite bathing-place. It swarms with turtles of an enormous size, which are considered in a way sacred and generally receive a handful or two of grain from every visitor.

Reference has already been made more than once to the *Mathurá Máhátmya*, or Religious Chronicle of Mathurá. It is an interpolation on the *Váráha Purána*, and of sufficient extent to be itself divided into 29 sections. After expatiating in the most extravagant terms on the learning, piety, and other virtues of the Mathuriya Chaubes, and the incomparable sanctity of the city in which they dwell ; it briefly enumerates the 12 Vanas or woods, that are included in the perambulation of the land of Braj, and then at greater length describes the principal shrines which the pilgrim is bound to visit in the capital itself. As a rule, no attempt is made to explain either the names borne by the different holy places, or the origin of their reputed sanctity ; but their virtue is attested by the recital of some of the miracles which have been worked through their supernatural influence. Take for example the following legend in connection with the Visránt Ghát.

Once upon a time there was a Bráhman living at Ujjáiyin, who neglected all his religious duties, never bathed, never said a prayer, never went near a temple. One night, when out with a gang of thieves, he was surprised by the city watchmen, and

in running away from them fell down a dry well and broke his neck. His ghost was doomed to haunt the place, and was so fierce that it would tear to pieces and devour every one who came near it. This went on for many years; till at last one day a band of travellers happened to pitch their tents by the well, and among their number was a very holy and learned Bráhmaṇ. So soon as he knew how the neighbourhood was afflicted, he had recourse to his spells and compelled the evil spirit to appear before him. Discovering, in the course of his examination, that the wretched creature had in his life-time been a Bráhmaṇ, he was moved with pity for him and promised to do all in his power to alleviate his sentence. Whereupon the ghost begged him to go straight to Mathurá and bathe on his behalf at the Visránt Ghát; "for" said he, "I once in my life went into a temple of Vishnu, and heard the priest repeat this holy name and tell its wondrous saving power." The Bráhmaṇ had often bathed there and readily agreed to transfer the merit of one such ablution. The words of consent had no sooner passed his lips than the guilty soul was absolved from all further suffering.

On either side of this sacred spot a number of minor gháts stretch up and down the river, those to the north being called the *uttar kot*, and those to the south the *dakshin kot*. They are invariably represented as 24 in all, 12 in either set; but there is a considerable discrepancy as to the particular names. The following list has been supplied by a Pandit of high local repute, Mákhān Misr, a Gaur Bráhmaṇ, a really learned and well-read Sanskrit scholar.

To the north, Ganes Ghát, Mánasa Ghát, Dasasvamedha Ghát, under the hill of Ambariṣha, Chakra tirtha Ghát, Krishna-Gangá Ghát, with the shrine of Kálinjarisvar Mahádeva, Som-tirtha Ghát, more commonly called Vasudeva Ghát or Shaikh Ghát, Brahmālok Ghát, Ghantábhāran Ghát, Dhárá-patān Ghát, Sangaman-tirtha Ghát, otherwise called Vaikunth Ghát, Nava-tirtha Ghát, and Asikunda Ghát.

To the south, Avimukta Ghát, Visránti Ghát, Prág-Ghát, Kanakhal Ghát, Tinduk Ghát, Súra Ghát, Chintá-mani Ghát, Dhruva Ghát, Rishí Ghát, Moksha Ghát, Koti Ghát, and Buddh Ghát.

The more common division is to include the Avimukta Ghát in the first set, from which the Mánasa is then omitted; to except the Visránt Ghát altogether from the number of the 24; and to begin the second series with the Balābhādra and the Jog Ghát. By the former of these two are the Satghara, or seven chapels, commemorating Krishna's seven favourite titles, and the shrine of Gata Sram or 'ended toil': the latter is supposed to mark the spot where Joga-nidra, the infant daughter of Nanda and Yasoda, whom Vasudeva had substituted for his own child Krishna, was dashed to the ground by Kansa and thence in new form ascended to heaven as the goddess

Durga. Between it and the Prág Ghát is one more modern called, Sríngár Ghát with two temples dedicated respectively to Pipalesvar Mahádeva and Batuk-náth, and by Prág Ghát the shrine of Ramesvar Mahadeva. The list further omits two Gháts which occupy far more conspicuous sites than any of the others, but are devoid of any legendary reputation. The first bears the name of Sami Ghát a corruption of *Sámkhe*, 'opposite,' as it faces the main street of the city, where is a mansion of carved stone built by the famous Rúp Rám, Katára, of Barsána. The second is the Bengáli Ghát, at the foot of the pontoon bridge, and close to a large house, the property of the Rájá of Jhálra-pattan.

Most of the titles refer to well-known legends, and there are only four which seem to require further explanation. Ambarisha, who gives a name to the hill by the Dasasvamedh Ghát, was a devout worshipper of Vishnu and thereby excited the hostility of the sage Durvásas, the most intolerant apostle of the supremacy of Siva. A terrific encounter took place between the two champions of the rival gods; but no weapons could avail against the magic discus of Vishnu; Durvásas barely escaped with life, and Ambarisha has ever since been one of the most favourite themes for Vaishnava laudation.

Dhruva was the son of King Uttána-páda, and indignant at the slights put upon him by his stepmother, he left his father's palace to make a name for himself in the world. By the advice of the seven great Rishis, Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Kratu, Pulaha, and Vasishta, he repaired to Madhuban near Mathurá, and there absorbed in the contemplation of Vishnu continued for seven years a course of the severest penance. At last the god appeared to him in person and promised to grant him any boon he might desire. His request was for a station exalted above every station, and which should endure for ever: whereupon he was translated to heaven as the polar star with his mother Suniti.

Tinduk, according to the Máhátmya, was a barber, who lived at Kámpilya, the Capital of Panchála, in the reign of King Devadatta. After losing all his family he came to live at Mathurá and there practised such rigorous austerities and bathed so constantly in the sanctifying stream of the Jamuná, that after death he took birth once more as a high-caste Bráhman.

The legend of the Asikunda Ghát is told on this wise. There was a virtuous King, Sumati, who started on a pilgrimage but died before he was able to complete it. His son, Vimati, on succeeding to the throne, was visited by the sage Nárad, who at the time of taking his departure uttered this oracular sentence: "a pious son settles his father's debts." After consulting with his ministers the prince concluded that the debt was a debt of vengeance which he was bound to exact from the places of pilgrimage, which

- had tempted his father to undertake the fatal journey. Accordingly, having ascertained that every holy place paid an annual visit in the season of the rains to the city of Mathurá, he assembled an army and marched thither with full intent to destroy them all. They fled in terror to Kalpa-gráma to implore the aid of Vishnu, who at last yielded to their entreaties, and assuming the form of a boar joined in combat with King Vimati on the bank of the Jamuná and slew him. In the fray, the point of the divine sword, "*asi*," snapped off and fell to the ground; hence the Ghát to this day is called Asi-kunda Ghát and the plain adjoining it Váráha Kshetra or the field of the Boar.

Thus much for the 24 Gháts and their legends; but before leaving the river-side one other building claims a few words, *viz.*, "the Sati Burj." This is a slender quadrangular tower of red sand-stone commemorating the self-sacrifice of some faithful wife; the precise date of its erection is not known. It has a total height of 55 feet and is in four stories, surmounted by a low and ugly modern dome. The lowest story forms a solid basement; the second and third are lighted by square windows and are supplied with an internal staircase by which access is gained to the top. The exterior is ornamented with rude bas-reliefs of elephants and other devices. It is of no great architectural value but forms a picturesque feature in the river front.

In the very heart of the city, on a rising ground which was once probably occupied by a Hindu temple, now stands the Jama Masjid, erected in the year 1662 A.D. by Abd-ul-Nabi Khán, the Local Governor, who as we have already mentioned met his death at Sahora, a village in the Mahá-ban Pargana on the opposite side of the Jamuná, while engaged in quelling a popular *émeute*. The author of the *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* says of him:—"He was an excellent and pious man, and as courageous in war as successful in his administration. He has left a mosque in Mathurá as a monument, which for a long time to come will remind people of him. Muhammad Anwar his nephew received from His Majesty a mourning dress of honour; but the property of the deceased lapsed (according to custom) to the State, and the Imperial Mutasaddis reported it to be 92,000 gold mahrs, 1,300,000 Rupees, and 1,450,000 Rupees' worth of property. The architecture of his mosque is not of particularly graceful character, but there are four lofty minarets, and as these and other parts of the building were originally veneered with bright-colored plaster mosaics, of which a few panels still remain, it must at one time have presented a brilliant appearance. It is now little used and is rapidly falling into decay.

From this central point diverge the main thoroughfares, leading respectively towards Brindá-ban, Díg, Bharatpur, and the civil

station. They are somewhat broader than is usual in Indian cities, having an average breadth of 24 feet, and were first opened out at the instance of Mr. E. F. Taylor in 1843. A number of houses were demolished for the purpose, but in every instance, all claim to compensation was waived. Seth Lakhmi Chand's loss, thus voluntarily sustained for the public good, was estimated at a lakh of rupees; as he had recently completed some handsome premises which had to be taken down and re-built.

These streets have now throughout their entire length and breadth been paved at the cost of the municipality with substantial stone flags brought from the Bharatpur quarries. Though, as is the custom in the East, many mean and tumble-down hovels are allowed to obtrude themselves upon the view, the majority of the buildings that face the principal thoroughfares, are of handsome and imposing character, all erected during the 70 years of British rule. Whether secular or ecclesiastical, the design is in either case very similar. The front is of carved stone with a grand central archway and arcades on both sides let out as shops on the ground-floor. Story upon story above are projecting balconies supported on quaint corbels, the arches being filled in with the most minute reticulated tracery of an infinite variety of pattern, and protected from the weather by broad eaves, the under-surface of which is brightly painted. One of the most noticeable buildings in point of size, though the decorations perhaps are scarcely so elegant as in some of the later examples, is the temple of Dwárákádhis, founded by the Gwáliar Treasurer Parikh Jí, and just completed at the time of Bishop Heber's visit in 1825, as he records in his journal. Opposite is the palace of the Princes of Bharatpur, with a lofty and highly enriched entrance gateway added by Rájá Balavant Sinh; and close by is the mansion of Seth Lakhmi Chand built at a cost of Rs. 100,000. The latest and one of the most admirable for elegance and elaboration is a temple near the Chhata Bazár built by Deva Chand Bohra and completed only at the end of the year 1871. In most cases the greatest amount of finish has been bestowed upon the street front, while the interior court is small and confined, and the practice of having only a single gate both for entrance and exit occasions great and sometimes dangerous crowding on high feast days. It is, as before remarked, a peculiarity of the Mathurá temple architecture to have no tower over the seat of the god.

If the city was ever surrounded by walls, not a vestige of them now remains, though the four principal entrances are still called the Brindá-ban, Dig, Bharatpur, and Holi Gates. The last named is the approach from the Civil Station; and here a lofty and elaborately sculptured stone-arch has been erected over the road way in accordance with a tasteful design in the local style.

supplied by a native artist. As the work was commenced at the instance of the late Mr. Bradford Hardinge, who was for several years Collector of the District and took a most lively interest in all the city improvements, it is to be named in his honour 'the Hardinge arch.' Elegant as it is in itself, it is not, perhaps, very well adapted to serve as a clock-tower, the object for which it was originally designed; and the Department of Public Works, who are always ready to sacrifice architectural grace to imaginary structural requirements, have disfigured its outline by the addition of two massive staged buttresses, whose ugliness is only rendered more obtrusive by the surface carving that overlays them. They are simply wilful sins against good-taste; for if lateral support is necessary, it might have been secured by flying buttresses disguised as side-portals, or the present ponderous masses might have been left plain and would thus have been unnoticed when built up into the adjoining houses.

As may be inferred from the above remarks, stone-carving, the only indigenous art of which Mathurá can boast, is carried to great perfection. All the temples afford specimens of elegant design in panels of reticulated tracery (*jáli*) as also do the Chhatris of the Seth's family in the Jamuná Bágh, and those of the Bharatpur Rájás at Gobardhan. But the most refined and delicate work of the kind ever executed is to be seen in a building erected by public subscription at the suggestion of Mr. Mark Thornhill, Collector of the District in 1856. It was intended as a rest-house for the reception of native gentlemen of rank whenever they had occasion to visit the Sadr Station; but the work was interrupted by the mutiny after an expenditure of Rs. 30,000 and has never been completed. Unfortunately, the site selected was so remote from the bazár as to render it unsuitable for the purpose intended, nor has it ever yet been applied to any other. At a slight expense it might be converted into a local museum; an institution which might reasonably expect to flourish in such a centre of wealth, learning, and archæological interest as the city of Mathurá.

F. S. GROWSE.

ART. II.—HEREDITARY IMPROVEMENT.*

THE 19th century is distinguished above all past times as an age of theory and unbridled inquiry. Never before has the spirit of disbelief been so general or so strongly in possession of every class in every country. By common assent the character of age is declared to have nothing of sacred in it, and theories, heretofore accepted by the son because accepted by the father, must now pass the standard set up by reason or die. It is true that most of these doubts and inquiries have originated in past ages, but the present can boast of having started, at the worst, one new idea. Heretofore, whatever old theory might be put in question, whatever new theory started, it was never seriously proposed that man should be taken in hand like any other animal, and forced, willy nilly, to develop a race superior in muscle and brain to any then extant. There was too much of mystery in life for any one calmly to listen to such a proposition; there was a feeling common to all, that man differed from every other living creature in some essential; that his advance or retrogression in being depended on higher, more spiritual laws than those revealed; and that to say one generation held it in its power to determine at its own will the attributes of the next was sacrilege. But at last such a thing has been proposed, while opinion on the subject is so changed that there are but few who consider the proposition unreasonable, and the only question appears to be whether such an experiment is advisable and whether,—taking into account the extreme obstinacy, stupidity, and selfishness that even now exist,—such an experiment is possible.

Mr. Francis Galton, well known as the author of a book called "*Hereditary Genius*," has, in the January number of *Frazer's Magazine*, in an article,—"*Hereditary Improvement*," suggested that by arbitrary selection, a race of men should be bred, distinguished from, and superior to, ordinary beings, by sheer intellectual and physical power. He takes the fact as proved,—and with this we have no wish to quarrel—that man is subject to Heredity; and states, among others, the following reasons for the trial of his schemes:—that the civilization now prevalent—especially the free power in marriage and in bequeathing wealth—tends to spoil the race, and that the average intellect of man at present is not able to cope with the requirements made on it.

There is much in what Mr. Galton states with which we agree and much with which we disagree, and we feel, before entering

* See an article in *Frazer's Magazine*, January 1873, by Francis Galton.

directly on the examination of his scheme, that some little consideration may well be given to gaining a definite idea of what led to it and what has made its proposal reasonable.

It is impossible to study the history of the world without coming to a conclusion, that notwithstanding the rise and fall of many civilizations there has been a gradual improvement in the constitution of man and a slow but real advance in civilization.* The more we learn by the researches of science of our past history the stronger are the reasons for believing this, and the last great discovery, that during the past three thousand years there has been an increase in the average brain-capacity of the human skull goes far towards confirmation. It is true that other ages have surpassed the present in certain ways. The literatures of Greece and Rome still remain and excite the common admiration of mankind; the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato is still the basis of every investigation into the causes of the phenomena relating to mind and matter; and by general agreement, we cannot now even imitate the sculpture of the past. But though the inferiority of the present era in these things be acknowledged, still the level of intellect is higher now than then, the law of average in no way applying; there is greater variety seen in the work resulting from mental effort, and a greater knowledge and better forms of government. The present civilization also is not open to the same dangers of destruction as its predecessors. Most have succumbed to the attacks of lusty barbarism, but the present has spread so far over the globe that this danger seems out of the question; and earthquakes and floods are but local in their effects.

If we attempt to discover what causes are constantly at work to effect this fluctuating but unquestionable improvement, we find ourselves completely at a loss. We know that the race-horse and cart-horse have been verily made by us in their present form through arbitrary selection; we know that by will we can, in a few many generations, change the constitution of almost any animate thing; but the change in man's state and condition has been quite apart from conscious effort on his own part. History shows indisputably that the laws of every age, of every king and every government, have been made purely to meet the exigencies of the time. We know not of a single law but made for the advance

* If we accept the Jewish account of the origin of human life, there is nothing to falsify this. Lies, thieving, poverty and riches, benevolence, and charity result from, and are possible only in a complicated state of society, and the state of Adam and Eve was as simple as it well could be. They were good for a time but their

goodness was purely negative, and their reasoning powers were of the lowest. Only under the manifold temptations induced by civilization can goodness be positive, and only under the manifold demands of civilization, can intellect reach its full development.

tage of the living. In the face of this we cannot but fall back on the belief that there is some ultimate scheme in creation, that all things are working together, slowly, through innumerable ages, to some great end; that man, insignificant in himself, is in the aggregate the means to this great end.*

But though the advance of the world in civilization has not been influenced by direct and conscious effort on the part of man to improve his race, still there is nothing in history to show that if such efforts had been made they would have been fruitless. History up to a very late period is simply a record of wars for glory and territory between ambitious kings and nations; of struggles by rulers for power and by peoples for liberty; of bloody murders and tortures by every religion and every sect against every other religion and every other sect. There was no time to think of, no opportunity to make laws for the future; the attention of men was fixed necessarily on the momentous occurrences of the present. When no kingdom hour to hour was safe from attack; no people sure of maintaining the little liberty they possessed; no priest certain that the man he persecuted to-day might not persecute himself to-morrow; only a madman would have thought of ignoring the present and labouring for an improved future race. The mystery of human life was sacred to the superstition of the ignorant majority, and every uncommon action or event referred to a direct interposition of the Deity, or at least to the agency of spirits. Whether or not man could effect improvement in his own race by arbitrary selection, was never tested, and so, never determined.

But the character of history during the last few centuries has changed materially. Persecution for the sake of religion has died out and the councils of States have been freed from the disturbing influence of priestcraft. Wars continue, but they do not interfere to so great an extent with peaceful occupations, and their effects are circumscribed. Liberty has been placed on a firm basis and people dictate their own laws. The result is that history, from being a record chiefly of wars and priestly strife, has become a record chiefly of fresh experiments by peoples in social and political life. Greater knowledge has been acquired and been followed by greater intellectual activity. The necessities of life being more easily obtained, large classes of men are absolutely

* What is, perhaps, a sad conclusion would follow from this. That man being of importance only in the aggregate, we have hitherto placed too much importance on the fact of our individuality; and our religion, that the ultimate scheme of nature is our

own happiness, must be false. And this supposition seems borne out by the fact that the life of the individual appears held by nature as of no account; for thousands are born every day to live but a life of minutes.

free from the obligation of physical labour ; and by the gradual improvement of means of transit from place to place, nations have become better acquainted with one another.

We have scarcely begun to experience the effects of all this change, but already the result has been marvellous: The prejudices of class against class, which have so long dulled the happiness of life and so long impeded the course of civilization, have been shaken to their foundation ; the laws of nations are now made for the welfare of the many not the few ; men, taught by experience that heaven but helps them that help themselves, appeal to men not heaven for aid ; religion has been freed from its filthy garments, and its character cleared from the enormities that have been perpetrated in its name ; the dignity of labour is being slowly recognized ; and, lastly, nations and individuals are beginning dimly to perceive and slowly to acknowledge, that beyond their duty to the present, they owe duty to the future.

It is quite unnecessary to bring any evidence in support of this last statement ; acts and laws of every government, speeches and books from all classes of men, attest it. And that, in fact, the present does owe a great duty to the future, there is no doubt, while every day too it becomes more certainly the case that the necessities of the present tend to the advantage of the future. The acts passed in Germany and more recently in England for compelling education, are a strong instance of this. And what conduct could be more enviable, more worthy of admiration than that of a people who make their laws and fashion their conduct with the one great object of the advance in mind, body, and happiness of their descendants ? What could more tend to their own immediate welfare ? What destiny for a nation more noble ? But suppose a nation desire to effect such an object, what means has it at command, what means should it take ?

Mr. Francis Galton brings forward a definite proposition for raising the average excellence of mankind by a system of arbitrary selection. He declares that the mere continuance of our present civilization depends on our taking some means or other for increasing the intellectual and physical power of our descendants ; and adduces, in support of this statement, many instances which show that the average intellect at present is not equal to the requirements made on it. Of this we have no doubt. But when he goes on to say that the present form of civilization, *especially the free power of bequeathing wealth and of entering into marriage*, tends to spoil the race, we entirely disagree with him and on this point we shall have more to say hereafter.

The first part of his proposition is, that a search should be made to determine the patent and latent power in health, strength,

constitutional vigour, and intellect possessed by every race. This search would again be extended to families and individuals. To discover the latent power in any given family, knowledge would have to be obtained of their progenitors; for the latent power in an existing family is that which may become patent in their descendants, and our only means of discovering this latent power in an existing family is by establishing the fact of their progenitors having had the power in a patent form. This search, Mr. Galton suggests, should be made many generations back, for qualities of the mind may lie dormant through an incredibly long period. Suppose the search to have been made in England through every class of society. A certain number of men and women will have been determined who are superior in patent or latent power of health, strength, constitutional vigour, and intellect to their fellows. With these Mr. Galton proposes to deal,—and it may be here noticed that as a whole they would be simply “good all round,” not remarkable for excellence in any given quality. From these men and women the free power of marriage is to be partly withdrawn.* That is, they are to be prevented from marriage except among themselves. Thus, in every existing class of society, a new class† would arise, not, at first, distinguished for excellence in any given quality, but possessing a high average of health, strength, constitutional vigour and intellect. Individuals outside this class would be constantly discovered possessing like qualities, and, being admitted, would prevent the blood becoming impoverished by too great breeding in-and-in. After a time biographies and pedigrees would become more numerous; enquiries as to latent and patent powers in families increase; and boys at schools be compared as to their individual work and the gifts of their ancestors.

Thus, says Mr. Galton, the average excellence of mankind would be raised and a new class of men produced, who would perform a most important part in the economy of the State, and amongst whose descendants we may expect, by all laws of heredity, to find the extremest forms of high intellectual power.

We have said before that we believe the present owes a great duty to the future, and we sympathise with every proposition for the improvement of the next generation. But we consider that Mr. Galton's scheme, if ever carried out, would

* We think we are correct in stating this as part of Mr. Galton's proposition. For surely it cannot be maintained that these individuals picked out arbitrarily from every class of society, would voluntarily obey an arbitrary law circumscribing their choice in marriages?

† The word invariably used by Mr. Galton is ‘caste,’ but that word has, by association, so different a meaning here to what is given it in England, that we think Mr. Galton's meaning is better shown by using the word class.

fail in its object. No account is taken of the deterioration that would result among the mass of the people by withdrawing from "general circulation" so much good blood. No account is taken of the fact that the genius of modern civilization is equality; that the tendency is to lessen the distinction between classes, while Mr. Galton would create a new class separated from all others by barriers completely impassable. If too this class ever came into existence, a danger apprehended by Mr. Galton would certainly arise. It would be assailed by democratic hostility. Suppose the result to be, as stated, that the outside attack would make the individuals of the class draw more closely together; enter perforce into co-operative pursuits; strengthen their feeling of caste, and establish, by necessity, intermarriage? Would not the election of rulers be, then as now, in the hands of the mass, and could this class remain in power after becoming the objects of their declared hatred? Taking no part in government would not the object for which they were produced have failed? Withdrawn, in great measure, from general intercourse with others, would they be of any advantage to the State? Would not continued intermarriage tend to their deterioration? We cannot think these questions capable of being answered satisfactorily.

Again, there are the following objections, objections preferred by Mr. Galton himself and answered by him as we think meagrely and unsatisfactorily. Would such a race become intolerable to the country at large? Would the individuals become priggish and supercilious?

"No," replies Mr. Galton, and he answers both questions at once. At first they would have nothing to be conceited about. They would not have either wealth or birth (as now understood and now productive of pride), they would be simply men "good all round," healthy, of strong constitution, and of fairly good intellect, not exceptionally brilliant in any way. They would be kept in order too by the consciousness that any absurd airs on their part would endanger their very existence as a class; for new blood would be of necessity to them and unless they gained the general respect, innumerable obstacles would be thrown in the way of their gaining fresh adherents. Their attitude of mind would probably be like that of the possessors of ancestral property of moderate value. It would be a point of honour with them to be gentlemen. They would feel that marriage out of their class would tarnish their blood, and in this feeling all other people would sympathise; recognizing the great advantage to the State of such a class.

We cannot accept these answers as satisfactory; the questions themselves are pertinent and require to be definitely answered. In the first place, for conceit, there need be no superiority in

the individual over his fellows, simply a difference.* It is very exceptional for a conceited inan to be so because he has something to be conceited about, it generally happens that he forms an over-estimate of an imaginary possession. The children of such marriages as those proposed by Mr. Galton would say, "We have come into the world under exceptionally favourable circumstances. The whole country is directly interested in our existence. We are intended to be a superior race, to raise the average excellence of human beings." Having such a basis to go on would it not follow that, simply as men and women, whatever the facts might be, they would believe themselves superior to all others? Again, whatever might at first be the case, it is very probable that such a class would eventually distinguish itself, or be distinguished, by intellectual superiority; possibly it might become an aristocracy of intellect. A class *must* have some distinguishing qualities, and it cannot go on long being known simply as composed of men 'good all round,' while it is not possible that it should long exist as remarkable only for strength or constitutional vigour. The disadvantages necessarily attendant on an aristocracy of intellect have been pointed out by historians and philosophers over and over again; and that priggishness and superciliousness often betray themselves in men of sheer intellect, who want the benevolence engendered by varied intercourse with the world or the self-control gained by association with the refined, is but too well known. Again, as we shall afterwards show, Mr. Galton's scheme if carried out would certainly tend to eradicate the feelings of human affection, of benevolence and charity; and from the experience of our own age we know how intolerable purely intellectual people are to the rest. The most offensive of all men to meet is the intellectual bigoted radical; and we doubt greatly that his presence in the community is of benefit. Reason is his god, belief his devil; imagination he but tolerates, as possibly originating true scientific theories; charity he ignores utterly,—what is it but a barbarous pandering to ignorance and selfishness? Can anything justify a man in possession of the truth from declaring it on every opportunity? Should the mere arbitrary rules of society be suffered to shield ignorance from attack? The bigoted radical saps the very foundation of most human happiness, declaring no man or woman has a right to be a fool. Liberty, he cries, is the birthright of all, and with most glorious inconsistency sneers at A for his religion and laughs at B for his ignorance.

These men, scattered about, can at present be endured; it is only when they take command of the society of some unhappy town, and at their breeding places, Oxford and Cambridge, or when, in concert, they address us through the *Saturday Review*, that they become intolerable. Perhaps, too, they are absolutely

of some service, showing how much of happiness we owe to charity, benevolence, and foolishness. A distinct class of such men would be intolerable, and an aristocracy of such men would be hated with a deadly hatred. It may seem a strange thing to say, but we believe our aristocracy exists and is popular because of its defects. Founded on a prerogative of birth and wealth many things tend to decrease the dangerous envy of outsiders. The hater is well supplied with harmless fuel; he can expend his wrath in laughing at the first gentleman of Europe, in deriding Brummell who, grandson of a cook, was king of the whole order; and his neighbour, whose nobility he envies, is son of a nail-straightener. Sometimes too a titled fool or blackleg, an unlettered baronet, arises. But with an aristocracy of intellect, all these comforting exceptions fail. Every man would hold his position by patent title. Outsiders may say, the man of birth is a fool, the man of money is a vulgarian, and console themselves; but the man of intellect is free from criticism. Are his manners coarse? It is the result of his wonderful individuality. Is he absent in society? It is simply the result of his extreme concentrativeness. Is he vain? conceited? Does he take every opportunity of displaying his contempt for others? It is simply honesty of character, or a weakness attendant on great intellect. Most annoying too of all to outsiders, the members of an aristocracy of intellect carry their claims to nobility about with them, ready to show at all times,—they do not base their claims on ancestors long dead; on hundreds of acres miles away.

It may be objected that if what we have stated be true, it follows that the advance of the world in intellect is undesirable. We have simply pointed out the disadvantages of a purely intellectual class. Increased knowledge is to be desired if accompanied by increased affection, benevolence, and charity; but the advance must be general, not particular.

Again, Mr. Galton says that this class would be kept in order by the consciousness, that any absurd airs would endanger their very existence. We entirely disagree with this. Every class and every individual, distinguished in any way above others, is guilty of certain absurd airs; it is impossible to refrain altogether from trading upon reputation. Long continued intercourse with all classes of men is necessary for the man distinguished above his fellows, to get rid of self-consciousness, prejudice, assumption of superiority. The members of the class proposed to be developed by Mr. Galton would be withdrawn by choice and circumstances from association with others in like position, and would necessarily contract certain peculiarities of conduct which would be offensive, or absurd to people at large.

Nor can we entirely agree that their attitude of mind would

be like that of the possessor of ancestral property of small value : that it would be a point of honour with them to be gentlemen : that they would feel marriage out of their class would tarnish their blood, and that in this feeling all other people would sympathise with them. Possibly, their attitude of mind might be like that of the possessor of a small ancestral property ; and possibly too they might make it a point of honour to be gentlemen.* But it must be remembered that the attitude of mind of a country gentleman is in great measure the result of the life he leads, and though the members of the class in question would engage in every kind of labour, from that of carpentering to that of politics, still, as the only object of their existence would be the advancement of civilization, we suppose every labour they engaged in would be of some benefit to society at large ; so that the healthy, possibly intellectual, but generally unproductive life of the country gentleman would be closed to them.

That they would feel marriage out of their class would tarnish their blood, there is no doubt, and this tends to show that, as we have said, they would be proud and supercilious ; believing, rightly or wrongly, in their superiority to others. Opportunity and association too, influence men greatly to choose their wives in their own class. But that outsiders would encourage this feeling, we cannot think. There is a strong prejudice, especially among Englishmen, in favour of marriages resulting purely from feeling, from what is generally termed love. On account of this prejudice nothing is so pleasing to the ordinary individual as a marriage where there is great disparity in position between the man and woman, where they belong to classes widely different in the public esteem. There is clearly a sacrifice on one side or the other ; there must be a reason for it, and the most probable is love. Now, would this feeling, which we believe is common among Englishmen from noblemen to crossing-sweepers, be kept in abeyance as to the class in question ? Would their marriages, resulting not from mutual esteem or love but made simply with a view to the production of children with strong constitutions and good brains and bodies, be encouraged by others ? We think not. It is difficult also, to reconcile Mr. Galton's belief that these exclusive marriages would have general sympathy, with his admission that the class itself might very possibly meet

* The use of the word gentleman is most objectionable. In the present day it has no definite meaning. With the man of good birth it means a man of good birth ; with the man of wealth, a man of wealth ; with the man of intellect, a man of intellect. It cannot be maintained that it signifies a man, loving his neighbour, of refined mind and gentle manners—such a signification would be true only to such a man.

with democratic opposition. Nothing we believe, nothing we trust, could ever make the people of England view such marriages with indifference.

We have debated the objections to Mr. Galton's scheme which appear on the surface; but a double objection remains which, as yet, we have but hinted at. It is this. The scheme though said to be for the advantage of all, deals only with a class, tends, we think, to increase the difference in intellect and physical power between individuals, and to eradicate, or at least weaken, human affection, benevolence, and charity. Happiness depends in great measure on freedom from prejudice; on charity and affection. To raise a class as proposed, by curtailing *choice* in marriage, would have a most unhappy effect. It is strange that though so much wonder and admiration have been bestowed by other countries, on the domestic happiness of England, but few critics seem to have suspected that it could arise from affection cultivated by a system of free marriage. It may be said that whatever the theory may be, marriages in England are practically made through considerations of expediency, birth or wealth; that in most cases people marry with others of their own class, that the poor nobleman takes to himself a rich wife, the self-made millionaire a lady. But, however this may be, free choice is the right of every one; families cannot betroth their children, sons or daughters, either by right or custom; all they can do is to guide their inclinations; unequal marriages are by no means rare, and all married people, at the least, make a pretence that love alone governed their choice.

It would be terrible that this should be sacrificed, even by a few. No country in the world can boast the domestic happiness of England, no country in the world has been so fortunate in finding leaders and commanders rise up unexpectedly in moments of danger. How many of these men have written in after-life of the affection their parents bore for one another? Now, we firmly believe* that the existence of pure love and sympathy between the parents is of the greatest benefit to the future mental and bodily vigour of the child. The peace and contentment felt by the mother must tend to give firmness, and her sympathy with the father to increase the chance of the descent of mental power. But how,

* This statement is in great measure borne out by what Mr. Galton shows in his work on *Hereditary Genius*,—that of the qualities a child inherits, some come direct from the mother, some direct from the father, and some, partly from both. It will be seen at once that there is a greater chance of these last inherited qualities being powerful than of the others, and we think it may fairly be assumed to follow that the more sympathy there exists between the parents, the more chance there is of such qualities descending on the offspring.

ever this may be, it is certain that a class who should determine their marriages solely with a view to the quality of their offspring, with no regard for mutual affection, would be the progenitors of a race without the ordinary feelings of human affection, however excellent in other respects. Each generation would learn more and more to despise such feelings, feelings which had but little affected the intercourse of their parents, and which interfered in great measure with the exercise of their reason, till at last affection would cease to have any influence. Such a loss nothing could make up for. Nor would the evil stop here. Charity and benevolence would, as attendants, suffer. What new discoveries in science, what new work of genius gained, could justify this, could return to humanity what it had lost?

As time goes on, each day sees purer and more liberal sentiments gaining the government of men. The old prejudices which have so long bound the world, prejudices which have caused respect and admiration to be bestowed with such gross injustice, are falling before the attacks of reason. A new class of men is growing up and increasing over the face of the earth. Men resulting from no system of arbitrary selection, men of no birth, of no nation; men of any birth, of any nation. These men are the noblest result of our present civilization. With their tongues and pens, with all their power of humour and sarcasm they war against prejudice. Charitable above all things, they recognize and preach the rights of the poor and feeble, the ugly and the foolish; the dignity of labour is to them a mighty fact, their one sense of existence is love of humanity; their one object of existence, the welfare of humanity. These men are the salt of the earth.

All mankind is slowly awakening to the fact that we owe a duty to our descendants, that their well-being lies in great measure with us. But no system of arbitrary selection can benefit them. The accumulated knowledge of the world is immense, and is increasing with prodigious strides. The strain upon men's brains is greater day by day. But any attempt to raise a race of men with intellects capable of withstanding such strain must be at the expense of feeling. No such loss can advisedly be incurred. Let us leave this extreme labour. Our mental power is slowly increasing. Let the labour wait till we can cope with it. We have eternity before us. In the meantime,—while always, the interests of the present more closely approach those of the future,—we can in no way better benefit our descendants than in leading healthy and intellectual lives, by fighting with all our might and all our main against prejudice; by learning to love our neighbour. Then, perhaps, some glorious future may come when the people shall say:—"Disease, bad drains, deformity

and idiocy are unknown amongst us; no man, no woman, is unable to read and write; our bodies and our minds are strong and healthy; we love one another. And all these great benefits we owe to the persistent efforts of our ancestors."

ART. III.—THE SECT OF THE ASSASSINS.

PART IV.—“THE FALL OF BAGHDAD.”

THE death of Malek Shah was the signal for the breaking up of the Seljukian Empire into a number of independent principalities. Syria, Palestine, and all Asia Minor were partitioned out among a dozen different Turkish Chiefs. Khorasan and Irak became the scene of a fierce civil war extending over several years, between two sons of Malek Shah, Barkiaroc and Muhammad. Drought was added to the horrors of war; the people perished by thousands of famine; the incessant marching and countermarching of the hostile armies destroyed the remnant of food which had survived the want of rain. About the same time from the borders of Christendom a fresh scourge was beheld preparing for Islam. The hosts of the Red Cross passed the Bosphorus, and fought their way knee-deep in blood, to the walls of Jerusalem. The capture of the Holy City struck like the point of a poisoned dagger to the heart of every true Moslem. There is a story in Sadi's "Gulistan" which tells more than pages of rhetoric could do, of the profound alarm, suspiciousness, and all its attendant cruelty which at this time possessed the minds of men. Two durweshes, he tells us, travelling together came to a certain city; they were suspected of being spies, cast into a small cell, and bricked up. Sadi makes not the smallest commentary on this summary proceeding. It was, we suppose, much too common an occurrence to require any. He merely goes on to say that a few days after, finding they were not spies the citizens unburied them. One was dead; the other—a man accustomed to endure long fasts—was still living; a circumstance which causes Sadi to dwell—not upon the cruelty and injustice of the whole proceeding—but upon the great utility of inuring the body to long abstinence from food. We know of hardly any passage in Oriental history, which, both by what it does and does not say, gives so vivid a glimpse of an utterly chaotic and disorganised world. This, as we said in our last paper, was exactly the atmosphere in which a power like that of the Assassins could flourish best. Hasan Sabah extended his power in every direction. To the fortress of Alamut, his partisans by degrees added most of the strongest castles of Irak. They seized others in the immediate neighbourhood of Ispahan; and, in the province of Koumis, and the mountainous region of Kuhistan, almost every impregnable or difficult summit became the seat of an Ismailien garrison. The establishment of the Assassins in Syria followed very closely upon their acquisitions in Khorasan and Irak. At the close of the eleventh century of our era they had established themselves in

Aleppo. Their chief, an astrologer and physician, had converted to the Ismailien doctrine the Seljukian Prince Ridhouan—who ruled in that city. He built his new friends a place of worship, and allowed the public celebration of their peculiar rites. The neighbouring princes wrote in vain, protesting against this scandalous protection of impious heretics. A great number of people embraced the new faith in order to bask in the sunshine of the royal favour. All who wished to live in peace and security had to humiliate themselves before the astrologer and his followers. Their numbers augmented continually. They practised the most outrageous tyranny on the rest of the inhabitants, carrying off women and children from the streets in open day. The quarter in which they resided became a sort of Eastern Alsatia where criminals of every kind sought and obtained shelter and protection. Alp Arslan, the son and successor of Ridhouan, continued to protect the sect as his father had done. They gradually extended their power, making many proselytes, over the province of Mesopotamia. Their most active *Dai* or missionary was a certain Behram, who had fled into Syria to avoid death at the hands of Barkiaroc, the Sejukide Sultan. He travelled all over the country, seeking for converts, chiefly among the lowest of the population. Finally he entered the service of Thogtekin, the Prince of Damascus; and obtained from him the cession of the strong fort of Paneas. He was no sooner established there than his partisans flocked to him from all sides. The Ismailiens acquired so much power and inspired so deep a terror through all Syria that not a soul dared to raise voice or hand against them—every scoundrel assumed the designation of an Ismailien as a convenient cloak for his malpractices. The doctors of the law, the learned men, and the whole body of the orthodox were subjected to every species of indignity and persecution. The terror of assassination had struck the energies of the boldest with the torpor of paralysis. This state of things lasted until 1129, not, however, without occasional reverses. In the year 1113, the people of Aleppo rose against their oppressors; three hundred Assassins were slaughtered in the streets; two hundred were captured and thrown headlong from the lofty rock on which the citadel was built. In 1121, seven hundred more were put to the sword in the town of Diarbekia. But the instigators of these reprisals all perished under the blows of the secret dagger. The gaps in their ranks were filled up by new recruits. At last, however, in 1129, vengeance long deferred, fell upon the Order with a severity which, for awhile, put an end to their power in Syria. The Ismailiens in Damascus had entered into secret negotiations with the Crusaders, in which they undertook to admit them into that city on the condition that the Crusaders placed them in possession of Tyre. But the plot was divulged before it could be

put into execution; and proclamation was made throughout the streets of Damascus, to hunt out the Ismailiens and slaughter them where ever found. Six thousand of these sectaries were massacred at once; a large number were captured and crucified along the walls of the city, and so implacable was the feeling against them, that a woman slew her own husband and daughter, who had become converts to the new doctrines, and suspended their heads to the door of her house. The Ismailien Governor of Paneas, terrified at this overwhelming disaster, ceded that fortress to the French, and sought an asylum in the territory of the Crusaders. For a brief period, the reign of the dagger was suspended in Syria.

Five years before this event, Hasan Sabah, the Founder of the Order, had died at Alamut. His life had been one of strange, mysterious seclusion. He had never, since his first establishment at Alamut, emerged from the privacy of his apartment; inscrutable and pitiless as Destiny, he had gazed across the troubled world of Oriental politics, himself invisible, and wherever he perceived a formidable foe, had directed the dagger to his heart. The roll of his victims would be too long to enumerate here. Warriors, vizirs, merchants—he spared none. But to the last, he enforced among his followers the most rigid adherence to the letter of the *Koran*; the fearful negativism which lay at the root of his doctrines was concealed from the many under an impenetrable veil; and one of his last acts was the execution of his own son because he had presumed to drink wine. “He expired,” writes the Chevalier Joseph von Hammer “not on the bed of torture which his crimes merited; not under the poniards which he had drawn against the hearts of the best and greatest of his contemporaries, but by the natural effect of age; after a blood-stained reign of thirty-five years, during which he not only never quitted the castle of Alamut, but had never removed more than twice during this long period from his chamber to the terrace.”

Kia Busurgomid, the General, and Chief Missionary of Hasan, succeeded him in the office of Grand Master. He reigned for fourteen years. His tenure of power is memorable for the murder of the Caliph Mostarshed. Rashid, the successor of Mostarshed, at once commenced to collect an army to avenge his death; but ere his preparations were complete, a party of Assassins entered his camp and slew him in his tent. His army instantly dispersed. The intelligence of this murder gave occasion to great rejoicings at Alamut. Public festivals were held, and for seven days and nights, the sound of kettledrums and cornets passed on from fortress to fortress throughout Kohistan, the glad tidings that the Chief of the heretics had succumbed to the might of the true Faith. The bitterness of spirit on both sides had now reached the utmost limit.

of intensity. Fetwas and judgments rained down like a deluge from the spiritual upholders of the orthodox faith in which the Ismailiens were anathematised and condemned.^c It was declared lawful, and indeed obligatory to slay them either in open war or as outlaws and infidels. It was pronounced impossible for one of this sect to repent even if he wished to do so. He was irredeemably doomed to hell fire; and his execution was commanded even though he wished to abjure his errors; because perjury was one of the fundamental maxims of the Order. On the other party, the sudden and strange fate which overtook the mightiest enemies of the Order, produced a profound and unwonted exultation of spirit. The Christian expectation of a Second Advent, had its counterpart in the hearts of thousands in the countries of Islam in the hope of an Imam about to be revealed. We have spoken of this belief in our former essays. And just as in the annals of Christendom it will be found that during periods of the darkest calamity this belief in a second Advent became most of all a living power, so was it with its counterpart in the history of Muhammadanism. It was as messengers sent before to prepare the way for the coming of the Imam, that Hasan Sabah and his missionaries had won the credence of suffering multitudes. These knew nothing of the nameless horrors that lay hid behind the appearance of a devout and scrupulous obedience to the most trifling precepts of the Prophet. They treated, as the calumnies of the wicked, the curses of orthodox doctors, and the tales of assassination. The swift and terrible doom which swept away the chief of their enemies was a proof to them that the night of suffering and persecution was drawing to an end. The long-awaited-for Imam was at last at hand; the day of vengeance in his heart, and the year of his redeemed was come. The Chiefs of the Order took care to maintain this delusion by every means in their power. When Sandjar, the Sultan of Khorasan, sent an envoy to Alamut for the express purpose of obtaining authoritative information regarding their secret tenets, the reply given was in a strain of unimpeachable orthodoxy. "Our doctrine is as follows: "We believe in the unity of God, and consider that only as true wisdom, which accords with His word and the commands of the Prophet; we observe these as they are given in the holy book of the *Koran*; we believe in all that the Prophet has taught concerning the creation and the last day, rewards and punishments, the judgment and the resurrection. To believe this is necessary, and no one is permitted to pass his judgment on God's commands, or even to alter a letter of them. These are the fundamental rules of our sect; and if the Sultan approves them not, he may send one of his theologians to enter into polemical discussions on the subject."

In Syria, meanwhile, the Order had recovered more than its ancient power, and that, too, in the face of difficulties which threatened at one time its very existence. The great Nuroodeen, Sultan of Aleppo, had completely checked the progress of the Crusaders; his chief officer, the famous Saladin (*Saleh-oo-deen*—i.e., the Pillar of the Faith) had marched an army to Cairo, de-throned the representative of the Fatimite Caliphs and restored the supremacy of the Abbasides in Egypt. The Assassins cut off from their parent stem might have been expected to wither away like a fallen leaf. But they had struck root too firmly in new soil to be affected by this event; and about this time (A.H. 543, A.D. 1148-49) we find mentioned for the first time, the most celebrated chieftain among the Syrian Assassins—Sinan, surnamed *Rashid-oo-deen*. He was a native of Busora, and commenced his career as one of the *Devoted*, in the service of the Grand Master of Alamut. Aleppo was the first Syrian city in which he took up his abode; he affected an extraordinary sanctity, wearing the coarsest garments and preserving a strict abstinence from wine. He was, according to the testimony of an Arabic historian, endowed with great power over the minds of all who came in contact with him, and possessed of a fascinating eloquence which did him yeoman's service in the work of proselytism. He rose gradually to the supreme authority, making the fortress of Khef his residence. He built new fortresses and repaired the old ones belonging to the Order throughout Syria; all the petty princes around trembled before the Lord of so many secret daggers; and he reigned over the sect with undisputed ascendancy for more than thirty years. His power excited the jealousy of the Grand Masters of Alamut, and Assassins were several times despatched to Khef to make away with the formidable lieutenant. But every attempt failed. Some of his intending murderers he caused to be executed; others he gained over. But his most dreaded enemy was Nur-oo-deen, whose armies from time to time invaded his territory, until at length the Sultan resolved to march against him in person, and rid the world of the obnoxious sect. But this danger was averted from Sinan by the death of Nur-oo-deen (15th May, 1174).

At the close of the same year Saladin laid siege to Aleppo, which he wished to wrest away from the son of his old master—a child of twelve years of age. The Vizir Saad-oo-deen Kumuchtekin, who directed the affairs of the principality, desperate of making a successful resistance, sent a large sum of money to Sinan, and assigned to him several grants of land on condition that he should cause Saladin to be murdered. On a freezing winter day several Assassins entered the camp of Saladin; but they were almost immediately detected by one of his officers. Him they slew, and

then made a rush for the Sultan's tent. But the alarm had been given; the Assassins were surrounded, and after a desperate struggle during which they killed or wounded several of their assailants, were cut to pieces to a man. Saladin, undismayed, continued to press the siege until compelled to raise it by the news that the Crusaders had laid siege to Emessa. His approach relieved that town, and in the following year (A.D. 1176) he laid siege to Azaz, situated to the north-east of Aleppo, and took it in thirty-eight days. This time again, Kumuchtekin, alarmed at the progress of Saladin, had recourse to Sinan and won him over with large presents and promises. The Assassins disguised themselves in the uniform of Saladin's troops, and in this manner obtained free access to the camp. They took part in the military operations, exhibiting the greatest courage. One day (2nd May, 1176) the Sultan, according to his wont, came to the tent of the Emir Djawely Ali Sadi, which was erected near the mangonels. From thence it was his habit to inspect the war machines, and encourage the soldiers by his presence. As he was distributing presents and rewards, the disguised Assassins mingled among the spectators. Suddenly one of them sprang forth from the crowd and struck at the Sultan's head with his dagger. The weapon glanced aside from the steel helmet, but slipping down, scratched the cheek and drew blood. The Sultan seized the murderer, and flung him to the ground where he was instantly hacked to pieces. It was all the work of a moment. Nothing dismayed, however, by the fate of their comrade, a second and a third murderer started forth with naked uplifted dagger. But it was too late; the first spring had been made and failed, and twenty flashing swords were buried in the bodies of the murderers long before they could get within dagger's length of their victim. A fourth assassin fled, and was also cut to pieces. Saladin took speedy vengeance upon Sinan. He laid waste his territory with fire and sword; slew a great number of his people, carried away a multitude as prisoners, and laid siege to Massiath—the strongest fortress in his possession. Sinan, in despair, sent word to Saladin's uncle—a near neighbour of his—that unless he instantly persuaded Saladin to withdraw, Sinan would be under the painful necessity of killing the uncle, with the dagger of an Ismailien. The entreaties of his frightened relative had not the smallest effect upon Saladin; but his army weary of fighting and laden with plunder, were angrily demanding rest; and Saladin was shortly after compelled to withdraw into his own dominions.

Kumuchtekin, though baffled in his designs upon Saladin, had other enemies he needed to be rid of, and he soon had another occasion to employ the friendly knives of the Assassins. At the court of his master Melic Saleh were two noblemen whose

increasing favor and authority threatened to ruin his own. It became a trial of strength ; either he had to perish or they ; and he bethought him of an admirable device for effecting his purpose. Our day as Melic Saleh was starting for the chase, Kumuchtekin placed before him a blank paper, and requested him to sign it, as he had need of his signature for an affair which admitted of no delay. The young Prince did as he was requested without further question ; and Kumuchtekin made use of the signature to cover a letter to Sinan demanding murderers to kill the nobles obnoxious to Kumuchtekin. Sinan—who derived a considerable part of his revenues by the prompt execution of all orders relating to assassination—at once despatched a party of four assassins to Aleppo. The two nobles were attacked in the streets, one was killed, but the other escaped unhurt. Three of the murderers were killed by the populace ; the fourth was seized and put to the torture in the presence of Melic Saleh. In the midst of his agonies he cried out, “ Why do you torture me, when I have only attempted to execute your orders ? ” Melic Saleh could not understand this appeal and wrote to Sinan reproaching him with attempting to lay the guilt of his murders upon his head. Sinan replied by sending him the letter with his signature attached, which requested the murder of the two nobles attacked. The designs of Kumuchtekin were thus discovered ; but to plan the murder of a rival is a matter of very small account in an Oriental Court ; and the dexterity evinced in the present proceeding served to augment, rather than diminish, the power of Kumuchtekin. Subsequently, however, he fell under his master’s displeasure, and was tortured to death.

The order of events now brings us to the famous murder of Conrad of Montferrat, Prince of Tyre and titular King of Jerusalem. Conrad had two powerful enemies, the Sultan Saladin and Richard of England, and both of them have been accused of procuring his assassination. So far as Richard is concerned, we may, we think, dismiss the accusation as supported by no evidence whatever. It was first thrown into circulation by Philippe Auguste of France, and John of England when Richard had left the Holy Land and was on his way to England. The motives which induced them to spread abroad this calumny are manifest. Philippe wished to retain his hold on the Norman dominions of Richard ; John on his English. They both knew that once the terrible Crusader had set foot within them, they could not stand for a moment before him. But Richard was a captive in the hands of Leopold of Austria—a near relative of the murdered man ; and such a charge brought at such a time seemed to be the exact thing required to quicken the recollection of old affronts into a desire for immediate retaliation. The hesitation felt by the Archduke

to proceed to extremes against the greatest warrior of the Holy Cross, might be, not improbably, merged in a desire to revenge the murder of a kinsman, on the man who had procured his death. It was exactly the sort of calumny likely to be devised by the astute and unprincipled monarch of France. On the other hand, we may be certain that no Muhammadan historian would sully the fair fame of the great Saladin by attributing such a deed to him unless it was a generally admitted fact. The criminality would not lie so much in the murder itself; it was right and proper perhaps, that no faith should be kept with the infidel; but in the making use of so impious an heretic as an Ismailien Chief in order to effect it. According to Ibn-al-Athir, Saladin sent to Sinan, requesting him to send emissaries to murder both Richard and Conrade, and pledging himself to pay ten thousand pieces of gold in case he was rid of both of his enemies. This statement throws rather a lurid light over the Saladin of romance. Sinan, however, did not think it politic to slay the English King. So long as Richard could lead the Red Cross hosts, Saladin had his hands too full of work to menace the safety of the Assassins. But the Grand Master had no scruples about the Marquis, and he was anxious to get the ten thousand pieces of gold; so he sent two of his "Devoted" attired as monks to murder the titular King of Jerusalem. They took up their abode in Tyre and dwelt there for six months. By an affectation of the most exemplary piety they gained the good will of the ecclesiastics, and Conrade himself conceived such a liking for them that he would never permit them out of his sight. On the 13th day of the second Rebi A.H. 588 (29th April 1192) as he was going out to dine with a Bishop, the Assassins attacked and inflicted on him several wounds. One was slain on the spot; the other fled and concealed himself in a neighbouring church. It so chanced that the wounded Marquis was conveyed into this very church to have his hurts attended to; the hidden murderer rushed forth and finished his victim. He was captured and executed. The suspicions attaching to Saladin in connection with this murder are strengthened by the fact, mentioned by Aboulfeda, that when peace was concluded with Richard four months after the murder of Conrade, Saladin insisted upon a special stipulation to the effect that the lands of the Ismailiens were to be held to come within the terms of the treaty. This, it seems plain, could have been dictated by no other motive than to preserve them from the consequences of an act, which he knew had been instigated by himself. Except on the supposition of some such secret motive it is impossible to divine why the Sultan should have exhibited so much tenderness towards a ruler who had twice attempted his life. Sinan himself died in the same or the year after Conrade's

murder. It was rather more than half a century after this time (A.D. 1256) that the Ismailiens in Persia were overthrown by the Mongol Chief Houlagou Khan. But in following out the history of the Order in Syria, we have lost sight of their doings in Persia, and must resume the thread of the story, from the death of Kia Busurgomid, the second Grand Master at Alamut.

Kia Busurgomid reigned as Grand Master for fourteen years, and was succeeded by his son, Kia Muhammad. During both their lifetimes, the precepts of Islam were strictly observed. But with the accession of Hassan, the son of the latter, a new régime was inaugurated. Hassan declared himself to be the Imam promised by Sabah, the founder of the Order, who had been waited for so long and with such impatient expectation. We have compared this looking after the coming of the Imam, to the Christian expectation of the second Advent of Christ. Both beliefs derive their practical power over the mind from the spectacle of the intolerable confusion and misery of the existing world. They are like the beam of light which Milton's Satan beheld in his journey through the realms of Chaos, sending far into the bosom of dim night a glimmering dawn. But if we advance a step further, and scrutinise more narrowly the character of these respective expectations, nothing can be more instructive than the differences they exhibit. They seem to us to afford, at a glance, the explanation of the vast gulf which separates Christendom from Islam; the vigorous progressive life of the one, the crumbling decrepitude of the other. Every reader of the Pauline Epistles is familiar with the great Apostle's reiterated denunciations of the hard tyranny of the Law. *The Law, he says, worketh wrath: where no law is there is no transgression. Sin taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me.* The essence of the Gospel was its promised emancipation from this tyranny—the elevation of the believer into the free life of the Spirit. In the mind of the Muhammadan believer there was a like ardent craving to be liberated from the shackles of the law, and raised into what he would also have termed the free life of the Spirit. But there was also this profound difference. The God in whom the Apostle believed was a God of righteousness; the law which held the Apostle in subjection was the expression of His character; it was holy and just and good. The Apostle confessed it was so with his whole heart; but precisely because it was so, it brought home to his conscience by the force of contrast, how far he himself had fallen away from that holy and just and righteous condition. Without this law, he had not known sin; as a man who has never seen light would not understand what the eye feels in darkness. The freedom he longed after was not the abrogation

of the law, but the communication of spiritual power so that he might obey it to the uttermost. Christ was to him the prototype of the Muhammadan's Imam, who was to set free humanity from this bondage by renewing the inner man into an exact conformity with the law of God. The law ceased to be a law, when it had once become the natural expression and proper fruit of the Spirit within. The life of the Spirit was a liberation from the lusts that war against the soul, and the bringing the life of the individual into absolute harmony with the will of a righteous and loving God. The expectation of a second Advent, as popularly understood, may be represented as the material presentation of the Pauline theology. Christ is to reign as a visible king; and every one is to be perfectly happy, because every one is to be perfectly good.

The Muhammadan's God on the other hand was not a righteous God but an arbitrary fate, and the emancipation he craved for was fashioned in the likeness of that fundamental article of faith. We know that abundant passages can be produced from the *Koran*, wherein the moral attributes of God are set forth and strongly insisted upon. But such passages have failed to mould to any great extent the practical religion of Islam, because the *Koran* is a book without any moral gradations. Every institution and every precept stands upon one and the same ground—the will of God. They are all equally binding upon the Faithful, and equally terrible in every case are the consequences of disobedience. The inevitable result was that the moral attributes of the Creator were speedily lost sight of—swallowed up, so to speak, in the image of an arbitrary Being who had imposed a multitude of cruel restrictions upon his creatures, from no other motive than because he had the power to do so. The Law of Islam reflected the whims of a capricious despot: not as with the Christian Apostle, the image of a righteous will. The moral law was regarded as a tyrannous and hateful restraint on the natural passions and propensities of human nature, precisely as the ceremonial law was a tyrannous and hateful tax on the physical endurance of men. The Christian prayed for a power which should enable him to fulfil the law; the Muhammadan, for one which should destroy it. The free life of the Spirit, according to St. Paul, consisted in the emancipation of the man from all fleshly lusts; the free life of the Spirit, according to the Muhammadan, consisted in their free and unrestrained indulgence. This was the promised reward of the believer after this life; the advent of the Imam by doing away with the law, would set them free to enjoy the like pleasures in this. Not only pilgrimages, prayers, and fastings would cease to be performed, but any impulse that visited the mind might then be followed out, without fear or compunction. The second advent

of the Christian was to be the signal for the complete perfecting of Mau's moral nature; the second advent of the Shia was to be the announcement of its utter degradation.

Hassan, before his accession to the supreme authority, had caused to be spread abroad that he was the Imam promised by Hassan-ibn-Sabah; and as he drank wine freely and indulged in other forbidden practices, Mirkhond informs us, he won over many adherents, who saw in these lawless habits a clear sign of the coming Imam who was to do away with all prohibitions whatever. On becoming Grand Master, he lost no time in publicly assuming this divine character. In the Ramzaun of A.H. 559, the inhabitants of the province of Rudbar were collected by his orders at the castle of Alamut. On the place of prayers a pulpit was placed facing towards Mecca, and in the four corners four different coloured flags were planted—a white, a red, a yellow, and a green. On the seventeenth day of the month the people were assembled on this place; Hassan ascended the pulpit and commenced by involving his hearers in error and confusion by dark and puzzling expressions. He made them believe that an envoy of the Imam (the phantom of a Caliph still tottering on the Egyptian throne) had come to him, and brought an epistle addressed to all Ismaelites by which the fundamental maxims of the sect were renovated and fortified. He declared that according to this letter, the gates of mercy and grace were open to all who would follow and obey him; that those were the peculiarly elect; that they should be freed from all the obligations of the law; released from the burthen of all commands and prohibitions; that he had brought them now to the day of the resurrection (*i.e.* the manifestation of the Imam). Upon this, he began to recite, in Arabic, the *khutbah*, or prayer, which he pretended to have just received from the Imam. An interpreter, standing at the foot of the pulpit, translated to the audience in the following words: "Hassan the son of Muhammad the son of Busurgomid is our Caliph to whom all who profess our doctrine are to yield obedience in spiritual as well as temporal affairs executing his commands and considering his words as inspired, and must not transgress his prohibitions, but observe his behests as our own. Know all that our Lord has mercy on them, and has led them to the most high God." He then descended from the pulpit, caused tables to be covered, and commanded the people to break the fast and to give themselves up to all kinds of pleasure, to music and play, as on feast days; "for to-day," said he, "is the day of the resurrection," *i.e.*, the manifestation of the Imam.*

* The account of this ceremony is Hammer's "History of the Assassins": a *verbatim* transcript of a passage in which passage in its turn is an

To complete the proceeding it was necessary, however, to deduce the descent of Hassan from the Fatimite Caliphs, as, according to the Ismailien belief, the Imam must be incarnate in one of that family. An absurd story was accordingly invented which set forth that a child stolen from the harem of the Egyptian Caliph Mostansur, had been brought to Alamut, and that the child of that child had been substituted by a confidential maid for a new born babe of Kia Busurgomid, and that consequently Hassan, though supposed to be the son of the preceding Grand Master, was in truth the grandson of the Fatimite Caliph, and in consequence the incarnate Imam. Hassan received the name of the Lord of the Resurrection, and his followers that of the sect of the Resurrection. But to emancipate subjects from all restraints either of law or conscience is a dangerous policy for kings, and four years had hardly elapsed before the incarnate Imam was murdered by his own brother-in-law. Hassan was succeeded by his son, Muhammad, whose first act was to slay the murderer of his father, together with all his kindred, male and female. Muhammad II. reigned forty-five years, but during this period occurs one of those lapses not unfrequent in Oriental history. There is not a single fact recorded of this long period save one, which is thus given by Hammer, translating as usual from Mirkhond:—

“During the Grand Mastership of Muhammad II. the son of Hassan II., the Imam Fakhr-oo-deen taught jurisprudence publicly in his native city Rhe. Having been slandered by some who envied his reputation, as a secret disciple of the Ismailien doctrine, and even one of their missionaries, he mounted the pulpit, and in order to clear himself from the imputation he abused and anathematised the Ismailiens. As soon as the Grand Master received information of this, through his emissaries, he sent one of the *Devoted* to Rhe with special instructions. This man assumed the character of a student of law, and visited the Imam's College. Seven months elapsed without his finding a fitting opportunity to execute his commission. At last he found his opportunity when the Imam's servant was absent in quest of food, and his master alone in his cabinet. The Assassin entered, locked the door, and throwing the Imam to the ground, placed the point of his dagger to his breast. The Imam demanded his purpose. ‘To tear out thy heart and bowels’—‘And wherefore?’—‘Because thou hast spoken evil of the Ismailiens in the public pulpit.’ The Imam entreated the Assassin to spare his life, and swore

almost exact translation from the Persian History of Mirkhond. All the facts relating to the Assassins of Persia contained in the present essay are taken from the works of these two writers,

with the exception of a few particulars regarding the overthrow of the Assassins which are to be found in Rashid-eddin's History of the Mongols.

most solemnly never to speak ill of the Ismailiens again. 'If I leave thee,' said the murderer, 'thou wilt fall back into thy old ways, and consider thyself relieved from thy oath by artful sophistries.' The Imam renounced all explaining away of the oath and was willing to abide the penalties of perjury. 'I had no commands to slay thee, or I had not been wanting in the execution. Muhammad, the son of Hassan greets thee, and requests thee to honor him with a visit at his castle. Thou shalt there receive unbounded power, and we will obey thee as honest servants.' 'We despise,' says the Grand Master, 'the rumours of the people, which glide from our ears like nuts from a globe; but you shall not insult us, because your words are graven as with a graver on the stone.' The Imam replied that he could not go to Alamut, but that, in future, he would not permit himself to utter a word against the lord of that fortress. Upon this the Assassin drew three hundred pieces of gold from his girdle, which he gave him, saying 'Behold thy pension; and by a decree of the divan thou wilt receive the same annually from the Reis Mosafer. I also leave thee two dresses of Yemen for thy servant; these also the Grand Master sends thee.' At the same instant the Assassin disappeared. The Imam took the dresses and the money, and for four or five years the same sum was scrupulously paid him. Prior to this occurrence, he was wont, whenever he mentioned the Ismaeliens in a discussion to express himself thus: "Whatever the Ismailiens (whom may God curse and destroy) may say." After he had received the pension he always said briefly: "Whatever the Ismailiens may say." He answered one of his pupils who asked him the reason of this change: 'We may not curse the Ismailiens; their arguments are too convincing and pointed.'

What passed during the long reign of Muhammad is, as we have said, only matter of conjecture. But the silence of historians regarding the deeds of the Assassins may be accepted as a proof that during this reign their power—at least in Persia—must have dwindled into insignificance. It is manifestly impossible that authority and obedience—the two essential attributes of a State—should co-exist with a scheme of life declaring that each man is permitted to do what is right in his own eyes. Consequently with the accession of Jelali-oo-deen Hassan—the son of Muhammad—an attempt was made to recover the lost virtue which had gone forth when Hassan made his imprudent proclamation that immorality was henceforth to be the law of life for the Ismailien. The new Grand Master set himself to build up, at least, the outer semblance of orthodoxy. He publicly burned a number of books which he affirmed to be the heretical doctrines laid down by Hassan Sabah the founder of the Order. He caused the mosques to be rebuilt, and the Muezzins' call to prayer was again

heard from the castellated mountain tops of Kuhistan where the Ismailiens dwelt among their fastnesses. The solemn assembly on Fridays was once more re-established; and the new Grand Master summoned around him readers of the *Koran*, preachers, scribes, and professors, whom he loaded with honours, and appointed to his newly-built mosques and colleges. Not content with this, he sent ambassadors to the Caliph and to all the sovereigns of Central Asia and Syria to assure them that he had abandoned the abominable errors of his fathers, and become a true and faithful follower of the Prophet. Great changes had taken place in Asia since the death of the first Grand Master. The empire of the Seljukides had vanished, and the great potentate of that day was the Sultan of Kharezm (the modern Khiva) who had succeeded by a series of victorious campaigns in uniting under his single sceptre the whole of Khorasan and Trans-Oxiana, right up to the frontiers of Hindoostan. He, as well as the Caliph, believed in the sincerity of the professions of Jellal-oo-deen; his envoys were received with distinction, and for the first time since the foundation of the Order, the Grand Master of Alamut was formally admitted into the body of lawful and orthodox Muhammadan potentates. The Doctors of the Law issued declarations attesting their belief in the purity and veracity of his profession of faith, and he received the designation of the "New Moslem." Jellal-oo-deen was not content to stay even here. In the second year of his reign, his mother and wife went on pilgrimage to Mecca. The journey was conducted with an extraordinary degree of magnificence. A banner was borne in front of the procession; and the munificence of Jellal-oo-deen's wife to the crowd of pilgrims exceeded all that had been known for many years.

But just about this time (A.H. 615, A.D. 1214) Asia was stunned by the most fearful calamity that has ever fallen on the human race—the Mongol Invasion. Like the huge wave of some immeasurable cyclone, the human deluge rolled over the oases of Bokhara and Khiva and the provinces of Khorasan and Irak till it reached the confines of Russia. Men seemed struck with a paralysis of terror and despair which rendered them incapable of resistance. Here and there the fortifications of some populous city checked for a brief while the advancing tide. It broke for a moment, and eddied backward from the barrier; but only to re-collect itself, only to pour on again with redoubled fury. The barrier was submerged, and when the waters receded, or passed on, a wide waste of blackened ruins alone remained to mark the spot.

The frozen deserts which are at the present day included under the name of Siberia contain one grand lake, whose vast expanse almost entitles it to the appellation of an inland sea. The Lake Baikal is about three hundred miles in length, and fifty in breadth;

its waters are sweet and transparent, and abound in fish. There are several floating islands in this lake which are blown by the wind sometimes to one bank, sometimes to another. The storms that sweep over it are terrific in their violence, rending the ice in pieces even in the depth of winter. The chain of mountains which divide Siberia from the pasture lands of Mongolia, encircle the waters of the lake. The springs which hury down their sides, not only fill this huge reservoir, but give rise to all the rivers of North-Eastern Asia. The mountains bristle with huge rocks in which a few hardy trees have struck their roots, and their summits are covered with eternal ice. At the commencement of the thirteenth century the Mongols fed their flocks in the country south of the Baikal Lake; the branch of the tribe to which Tchinguiz Khan belonged dwelling among the mountains of Bourcan Caldoun, where many of the great rivers of Asia have their source. According to the tradition current among them, 2,000 years before the birth of Tchinguiz Khan, the Mongols were assailed and exterminated by the other nations of Tartary. The chief fell in the general massacre; and of all this family the only survivors were his youngest son Kaian, and his nephew Nagos. At the close of the fatal day which witnessed the slaughter of their fellow tribesmen, these two young princes, with their wives, found themselves the prisoners of one man, who conveyed them to his own home. They soon after effected their escape; and returning to the old pasture lands of their tribe they took possession of the camels, horses, cows, and sheep, which their conquerors, glutted with plunder, had neglected to carry off. The battle-field was still cumbered with the corpses of the slain, both friend and foe. The young princes collected the clothes and other valuables found upon the dead, and laden with spoil, sought shelter in the mountains. Deep in the recesses of the hills, they came upon a path so narrow that only one man could proceed along it at a time. They ascended this; huge precipitous cliffs rising upon either hand, so that they could barely catch a glimpse of the blue sky above them, until they all at once emerged upon a beautiful and delightful valley, carpeted with verdure, and intersected in every direction with sparkling streams.

• In this lovely and inaccessible spot they took up their abode. They gave it the name of *Erkena-kom*, from *Erkena*, signifying a valley, and *Kom*, a steep mountain. For four hundred years the descendants of the fugitive princes dwelt there; until the valley became incapable of supporting the increasing multitude. It was resolved, at a general assembly of the tribe, to abandon it, and return once more to the old pasture lands of their fathers. But they sought in vain for the pathway which had conducted the princes thither. At last, however, one of the chief men who

had examined the mountain with attention, discovered a part where the sides of the hill were entirely composed of huge masses of iron. He proposed to put the metal into a state of fusion by the action of intense heat; and for this purpose caused to be conveyed thither a prodigious quantity of firewood. This was charred. The tribe then prepared nine hundred bellows made of the skins of wild oxen, fired the charred wood, and set the bellows to work. In due time the heat became sufficiently intense, and the ore streamed over the hill side in a liquid state. A road sufficient for the passage of a camel was thus thrown open; and the liberated nation went forth, and re-occupied the pasture lands where their ancestors had dwelt four hundred years before. In memory of this event, the Mongols instituted an annual festival. A piece of iron is made red hot in a great fire; the Khan of the tribe advances and gives it a blow with a hammer; after him the chiefs and other great men; while the people of each tribe perform the same ceremony among themselves.

At the time the Mongols came forth from Erkene-kom, they were ruled by a Khan of the name of Bertezena, a lineal descendant of Kaian. The eighth in descent from this chief left at his death two sons, still children, and a young widow. Although frequently urged to marry again, the widowed Queen declined all such offers, declaring that as Regent it was her duty to devote herself entirely to the interests of the tribe until her sons were old enough to rule. One morning, however, just as day was breaking, she beheld something fall into her apartment through the opening in the centre of the roof. It was brilliant as the sun, and on reaching the ground became transformed into a young man of an orange colour, with eyes of extraordinary beauty. Terror deprived the princess of the power of speech; but she retained her consciousness sufficiently to perceive that the spirit after remaining with her some time, suddenly vanished. As this adventure was decidedly incredible, she communicated it to no one; the spirit continued his visits; and after the lapse of a brief period the Queen was discovered to be with child. Her family was furious, and refused altogether to receive the story of the orange-coloured young man as a satisfactory explanation. Guards, however, were placed round her tents to see what truth there might be in her statement. They reported the story of the Queen to be a true one, having themselves witnessed the bright light descending through the aperture in the roof of the tent. All was at once joy and exultation. The widow was regarded as the favoured bride of some supernatural being; and the offspring of the mysterious connexion was awaited with impatience. In due time, the Queen was delivered of three sons. Their birth is said to have taken place at the commencement of the tenth century; and

their posterity formed many tribes distinguished from other branches of the Mongol race by the appellation "*Niroun*," signifying purity of descent. Tchinguiz Khan was the eighth descendant in a direct line from Boudantchar—the third of these heaven-born sons. He was born in the year 1155; and is said to have come into the world with a clot of blood clutched in his right hand.

Temoutchin (such was the original name of Tchinguiz Khan) was left an orphan when only thirteen years of age. The *niroun* tribes who had given a willing allegiance to his father—a brave and successful warrior—deemed it a degradation to submit to a child. They repudiated his authority; and for many years Temoutchin with a few faithful followers, led a hunted and perilous existence. More than once the career of the great destroyer seemed to be on the point of ending abruptly. At one time, he was actually a prisoner in the hands of his enemies; on another occasion he was attacked while attended by only two friends. He was struck to the earth and severely wounded; and the courage and devotion of his friends alone preserved his life. At last, however, Temoutchin defeated his enemies in two pitched battles. The last was fought on the banks of the Baldjouna; and the well wooded country round the battle-field gave Temoutchin an opportunity of displaying that callous inhumanity for which he has since become so infamous. He caused eighty large cauldrons to be constructed, and placed upon huge piles of wood. They were then filled with water, his prisoners thrown into them, and boiled to death.

This act of cruelty marks a turning point in the career of Temoutchin. From this time (A.D. 1196) until A.D. 1208, with some partial and some severe reverses, he gradually extended his dominion over all the tribes of Mongolia. The last subjugated was that of the Tatars. There was an old feud of long standing between this tribe, and the family of Temoutchin; and the order was given for their utter extermination. Even the women and children were put to the sword. Two of Temoutchin's own wives who were of Tatar origin and other ladies who belonged to his generals tried secretly to save some of the children, but these attempts became known to Temoutchin, and excited his heaviest displeasure. The entire tribe perished, saving a few who saved themselves by flight. This is the tribe which has given its name to all those peoples, differing in origin, language, and appearance, who inhabit the vast regions that we call "Tartary." They dwelt nearest to the Chinese frontier; and the Chinese comprehended under that one name all the tribes that peopled the country to the north of the desert of Gobi. The relations between China and the western nations of Asia carried this name from country to country even to the extremities of Europe, though it was

indignantly repudiated by the soldiers of Tchinguiz Khan, as that of a people they had destroyed.

The nomad nations of Mongol origin were now united under one ruler, and Temoutchin deemed it incumbent upon him to assume a new title commensurate with his dignity and power. He convoked a *courtltai* or general assembly, near the sources of the river Onan; the chiefs of all the subjugated tribes were required to attend. A magician of great fame then declared that Temoutchin, having destroyed so many sovereigns who bore the title of *Gour Khan*—i.e., Great Khan—could not assume an appellation, the lustre of which had been so completely effaced. Heaven had, therefore, decreed that he should henceforth be called *Tchinguiz Khan* or the *Lord of Powers*. This divine revelation was greeted with shouts of applause, and the assembled chiefs at once did homage to their new chief—the Lord of Powers. Tchinguiz Khan was at this time forty-four years of age.

Some years were still to pass before the great Mongol deluge burst over the verdant valley of Sogdiana, and levelled the cities of Khorasan with the dust. The terrible invasion of China was the next great exploit of Tchinguiz Khan. There are few more fearful episodes of human suffering to be found in history. In three broad streams the destroying element swept over the northern provinces of China; city and hamlet sunk in ruins before it; the waving harvests disappeared; and the desolated land was cumbered with the corpses of men, women, and children. A vast crowd of captives were dragged along in the rear of the invading host, and when Tchinguiz Khan at length re-crossed the Chinese frontier to return to his own dominions, the whole wretched multitude of men and women were deliberately slaughtered in cold blood. The invasion of China was followed by the conquest of Khoten, Kashgar and Yarkand; and it was not until A.D. 1218 (A.H. 615) that Tchinguiz Khan at the head of a countless host descended from the bleak uplands of Mongolia into the well watered regions of the Oxus, and the loveliest provinces of Persia. It would be remote from the subject of this paper, and require far more space than we have at command, to give the particulars of this memorable invasion. Suffice it to say that Bokhara, Samarkand, Merou, Nishapore, Herat,—in truth every great city in the regions of the Oxus and the province of Khorasan was taken and destroyed. The loss of human life is too great for the imagination to grasp. "In less than five years," Vambéry tells us, "the great highroads of Central Asia by which the products of China and India were conveyed to Western Asia, and to Europe, were deserted; the oases well known for their fertility lay barren and neglected; the trade in arms and jewellery, in silks and enamels, so celebrated throughout Islam, decayed for ever. The towns were in ruins, the

peasantry either murdered or compulsorily enrolled in the Mongolian army, and the artisans sent off by thousands to the farthest East to adorn and beautify the home of the conqueror. No less crushing was the blow received by science in the devastation of Central Asia. There is an Arab proverb of the Middle Ages which says, 'Science is a tree whose roots are in Mecca, but whose fruit ripens in Khorasan.' Judging by the present condition of these countries, such an estimate may well surprise us; but we must not forget that at the most brilliant epoch of civilization in Islamite Asia, Transoxiana played an important part" "The Mongolian invasion put an end to the intellectual life of Central Asia; for although Iran and the West gradually recovered from their misfortunes, Bokhara and Samarkand never regained their former activity and their intellectual labours were henceforth entirely devoted to casuistry, mysticism, and false religion." (History of Bokhara, p. 137.) But the causes which conduced to the marvellous success of the invader, and the utter destruction of the invaded we do not remember to have seen adequately explained, and it will be well to say a few words about them.

From the earliest periods of history—but especially in the writings of the Jewish Prophets—we catch glimpses of huge swarms of barbarians issuing from the unknown regions of Northern Asia to break down every fenced city and make the earth waste and desolate. They appear under different names. They are the Medes, "which shall not regard silver; and as for gold they shall not delight in it; their bows shall dash the young men to pieces; and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb," They are the Chaldeans, "that bitter and hasty nation which shall march through the land to possess the dwelling places that are not theirs; their horses are swifter than the leopards and more fierce than the evening wolves; they fly as the eagle that hasteth to eat." But it is always out of the North, that the scourge of the nations comes, "gathering the captivity as the sand; heaping up earth against every stronghold and taking it;" there is always the same contrast—the fierce uncorrupted strength of barbarism on the one hand; the weakness and disunion of a sensual civilisation on the other. And such were the two elements that came in contact in the days of Tchinguiz Khan.*

* The following well-known verses from the Prophecies of Isaiah give a picture of the Mongol invasion which only one of the greatest of the world's poets could have drawn:—

"The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the nations

gathered together; the Lord of Hosts mustereth the host of the battle. They come from a far country, from the end of heaven, even the Lord, and the weapons of his indignation to destroy the whole land. Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is at hand; it shall come as a destruction from

“The Tatars,” Paul Carpin tells us, “are obedient to their superiors ; they have no quarrels or murders among themselves ; they never steal from each other, and are remarkable for a lavish hospitality. They have great powers of endurance, so that when young they will go without food for one or two days, not only without exhibiting any weakness or impatience, but with as much gaiety as though they were full fed. When on an expedition, they endure the extremes of heat and cold with astonishing patience and resolution. They eat anything they can get ; dogs, wolves, foxes, horses, and even human flesh, if nothing else is to be had. On the other hand they are full of bad qualities ; subject to the fiercest passions and incorrigible liars. They appear very soft and affable at first ; but in the end sting like scorpions ; they are cunning, deceitful, and always on the watch to overreach others. When they have resolved to inflict injury upon any one they conceal their design with a subtlety which is exceedingly difficult to penetrate” In battle desertion or cowardice is punished with death. Each soldier is expected to have two or three bows if possible, but certainly one in good condition, with three quivers full of arrows, a hatchet and cordage to draw the war machines. The richer soldiers have sharp pointed swords, straight and single edged only ; some also wear helmets and breastplates, and their horses are armed and barded. They are exceedingly careful of their arms to make them glitter and sparkle. Some also carry lances with the iron crooked at the end to pull an enemy from his saddle ; the points of their arrows are sharpened on every side like a sword. They always keep a file in their quiver to sharpen them when needful.” Marco Polo gives some other particulars. When the service is distant the Tatars “carry but little with them, and that, chiefly, what is requisite for their encampment and utensils for cooking. They subsist for the most part upon milk. Each man has on an average eighteen horses and mares. They are provided with small tents made of felt. They can march for ten days without dressing victuals ; during which time they subsist upon the

the Almighty. Therefore shall all hands be faint, and every man's heart shall melt, and they shall be afraid ; pangs and sorrow shall take hold of them ; they shall be in pain as a woman that travaileth : they shall be amazed one at another ; their faces shall be as flames. Behold the day of the Lord cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate ; and he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it.

. Every one that is found shall be thrust through ; and every one that is joined unto them shall fall by the sword. Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes ; their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives ravished. And Babylon (*Bagdad*) the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah.

blood drawn from their horses; each man opening a vein and drinking from his own cattle. They have milk also dried to a hard paste. This is effected in the following manner. They boil the milk, skimming off the cream as it rises. The milk is then exposed to the sun until it dries. They carry about ten pounds of this for each man; and of this every morning about half a pound is put into a leather bottle with some water. The shaking produced by the movement of their horses makes this into a thin porridge, on which they make their dinner. When the Tatars engage in battle, they never mix with the enemy but keep hovering about him, discharging their arrows first from one side, then from the other; occasionally pretending to fly, and during their flight shooting their arrows backwards; killing men and horses as if they were combating face to face. In this sort of warfare, the adversary imagines he has gained a victory when in fact he has lost the battle; for the Tatars observing the mischief they have done him, wheel about and renewing the fight overpower his remaining troops and make them prisoners. Their horses are so well broken and so quick upon their feet, that upon the signal given they turn like lightning in any direction." In these passages we have placed before us the very type and ideal of a horde of savage warriors—their stern military law, their profound instinctive obedience to their chief; their hardihood and courage; their cunning, patience, cruelty, and extraordinary powers of endurance. The hordes of Tatars were, in a word, a terrible machine which worked in obedience to the impulse of a single mind which had never, to all appearance, been warmed by a transient spark of pity or tenderness. Let us turn now to the other side.

When Tchinguiz Khan entered Transoxiana, the Sultan of Kharezm was at the head of a splendid looking army of four hundred thousand men, magnificently appointed and rich in all the pomp and circumstance of war. Unfortunately in its capacity for fighting, it was in every way inferior to the rude enemy it had to encounter. The mother-in-law of the Sultan was sprung from a Turkish tribe in the Caucasus,—a wild horde who wandered over the steppes eastward of the Jaik river. She exercised an almost absolute power over her son, and several Kankali chiefs—her near relatives—had entered with their followers into the service of the Sultan. These followers constituted the main strength of his army, and they had on more than one occasion fought with conspicuous courage. The Kankali chiefs stood foremost in the royal favor; they were rulers of cities and governors of provinces. The rest of his army consisted of Turcomans who had formerly fought under the banners of the Seljukides. So long as the Sultan could carry on an aggressive war, and gratify his lawless soldiery with plunder, the weakness of such an army remained

latent. But for purposes of defence they were worse than useless. They had no community of feeling with the people they were expected to defend; they cared nothing for the authority of the Sultan. The Sultan was in truth the slave of his army; and the soldier knew that he was far more needful to the sovereign, than the sovereign was to him. The Kharezinian army was in a word a mercenary horde in the most absolute sense of the term, greedy only of plunder, and prepared to join any side which held out the best hopes of it. The first encounter took place in the vicinity of Jund. The Sultan with his whole army came upon a Mongol detachment which had been sent forward to reconnoitre. Despite their small numbers the Mongols fearlessly attacked the Kharezinian army. They fought with incredible fury, and the desperate bravery of the Sultan's son, Jellal-oo-deen alone saved the day. When night came on the Mongols retired in good order and joined the main body. The Sultan was astounded at their invincible pertinacity. He retreated in a panic to Samarkand where his terror was further augmented by the declaration of the astrologers that the aspects of the heavenly bodies forbade any second trial of arms during the present year. He broke up his army into a number of detachments; scattered them as garrisons in the principal cities; and himself fled into Khorasan. As he rode away from Samarkand the Sultan passed a crowd of the townspeople who were deepening the ditches round the town. "If these people," he said to them, "who are behind us and will shortly be here, were merely to cast their whips into these ditches, they would fill them up in a moment."

This breaking up of the Sultan's army robbed Transoxiana and Khorasan of its one defensive element. The army which united had failed to crush a single detachment, was necessarily able to accomplish even less when severed into fragments. Amongst the people there was no power of resistance, nor any capacity for united action. There never is among Oriental communities, and the causes of this imbecility are not difficult to discover. There is in the history of any European when compared with that of any Muhammadan country, this important difference. In the former we can see political institutions, whether good or bad, rooting themselves firmer and firmer in the common heart of the nation; whereas in the latter, the government never penetrates below the surface. It has no roots; but is rather to be compared to a destructive hurricane passing across the face of the land, uprooting and destroying whatever lies in its path. The great object of an Oriental population is to protect themselves *against* their government; and this they strive to effect by breaking themselves up into small *guilds*, like the village communities of India. Every such section of the people has, if we may use the expression,

a distinct life circulating within itself. It intermeddles as little as possible with events that do not disturb its internal status, recognising any and every *de facto* government as a necessary calamity which must be propitiated into a certain degree of clemency by the payment of taxes. Under such a state of a society, patriotism, as we understand the word, is extinguished; a man's country is the *guild* of which he is a member; and the perilous moment becomes the signal, not for a combined resistance from an angry and awakened nation, but for each little organisation to shrink up hedgehog-like within itself, indifferent to every thing but the preservation of its own skin. This is precisely what happened in Asia at this period. There was not an attempt made to meet the enemy in the field; the thought of combined resistance never so much as suggested itself to any one. The feeblest efforts to operate upon the rear of the Mongol hosts—to cut off some of the numerous detachments, or to intercept supplies, would have compelled the invaders to hold together, and indefinitely narrowed the area of their devastations. Famine too would very soon have driven them back to their native pastures. As it was the entire open country was given up to them. The Mongols roamed where they would in perfect security. Every town, filled to overflowing with crowds of the peasantry, shut its gates and awaited its doom in panic-stricken isolation. The supineness of the people surpasses belief. They seem to have sat immovable and permitted themselves to be slaughtered. Thus three thousand Mongols marched through Persian Irak, massacred the inhabitants of some half dozen cities without meeting with any opposition, though there was an army of about twelve thousand men in the province. "See," says Ibulul-Athir, "that" which the Tatars did; they did not number more than three thousand, while the Kharezmians had double that number, and the troops of Prince Euzbeg were stronger than both together. In spite of this superiority the Prince dared not deny their request; the Kharezmians knew not how to defend themselves." "Their request" was that the Kharezmians should be delivered up to them, to which the Prince responded by decapitating a portion of his wretched allies and sending their heads into the Mongol camp, and yielding up the rest alive. The same historian tells us that he heard of a Tatar woman who "entered into a house of Meraga, and slaughtered all whom she found there. They took her for a man. When she had divested herself of her armour they saw she was a woman, and a Moslem whom she had taken prisoner slew her. I have also heard repeated by a citizen of Meraga that a Tatar entered into a street where more than a hundred people were collected whom he deliberately slew one by one without any one attempting to defend himself."

This abject prostration of spirit would at times be suddenly

replaced by fits of fanatical fury which unsupported by any real strength only maddened the Mongols, and brought down a heavier doom on the wretched people.* Sectarian hatred, if need hardly

* The destruction of the cities of Herat and Meron are typical instances of this. The following particulars have been collected from several sources, and may be of interest to the reader. "Tchinguiz Khan established his winter quarters (A.D. 1221) on the banks of the Oxus, but sent his youngest son, Touloni, at the head of 80,000 men to complete the conquest of Khorasan. Meron was the first city on which the fury of the invaders descended. This place had already tendered its submission to a Mongol army; but that spirit of infatuation which at this time seems to have possessed the whole of Central Asia; which rendered them equally incapable of combining against the common enemy, or frankly submitting to him had produced the usual feeble and intermittent results in Meron. They had taken their pledges, slaughtered a number of the Mongol soldiery who from time to time had fallen into their hands, but were wholly unable to refrain from internal dissensions. They were divided into several factions, and even the approach of Touloni was powerless to mitigate their animosity. The city was occupied without a contest; four hundred artisans and a few children were spared; the residue were put to the sword. Ibn-al-atthir states that nearly three quarters of a million of both sexes fell in this massacre; but this statement may be rejected as a monstrous exaggeration. From Meron, the Mongols marched to Nishapore; from Nishapore to Tous; the cities were carried by storm; the inhabitants put to the sword. From Tous, the destroyers passed on to Herat. As he neared this magnificent city, Touloni sent forward an envoy to assure the people of his protection if they surrendered. The Governor rejected the offer, and with the insanity characteristic of the time put the Mongol messenger to death. Touloni then

assaulted the place. But the Governor was a determined soldier and the garrison brave and numerous; and for seven days an almost unceasing battle raged round the defences of Herat—the fiercest and bloodiest in which the Mongols had yet been engaged. Seventeen hundred of their leading men are said to have fallen in this brief space. But on the eighth day the Governor was killed, transfixed by an arrow; the vigour of the defence at once languished; dissensions broke out; when at this critical moment the Mongol prince again offered terms. The extreme loveliness and fertility of the country round Herat, the magnificence of the city as she arose with all her clustering domes and minarets from the thick foliage of the encircling groves, is said to have touched even his obdurate heart. He became desirous to find some pretext to avert from Herat the doom which had fallen upon Meron and Nishapore. As soon, therefore, as he became aware that there was a party within the city who were willing to surrender, he rode up to the walls attended by only two hundred horsemen, and doffing his helmet, announced that he was Touloni Khan, the son of the King of Kings—that he would cease from hostilities and recommend them to the mercy of his father, if they would undertake to pay his officers one-half of the revenue which had been paid to the kings of Kharezm. The city was yielded up. The Mongol kept his word to the citizens; but twelve thousand soldiers were slaughtered in cold blood. The Governorship of the city was given to one of the chief men, Melek Abu Bukker, and a Mongol officer named Mangatay was associated with him. Touloni marched to rejoin his father. But Herat had only obtained a brief respite. There was in Khorasan, and not far from Herat, a fortress bearing the name of Kaliousa. The

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be said, took advantage of the evil times, to give its revengeful instincts full swing. When the Mongols appeared before Rhe, they found the city divided into two factions—the one composed of Shaffeite Muhammadans, the other of Hanifites. The Shaffeites at once entered into secret negotiations undertaking to deliver up the city at night, on condition that the Mongols massacred the members of the other sect. The Mongols never reluctant to shed blood, gladly accepted these proposals, and being admitted into the city slaughtered the Hanifites without mercy. But the Shaffeites derived no benefit from this astute stroke of policy. A Mongol was an animal who thirsted for blood as a famished shark for prey. The spectacle of so many Shaffeites sound and well very soon became intolerable. A few days after the surrender

Mongols had vainly attempted to reduce it either by storm, and blockade. A report reached the defenders of this impregnable little fortress that the Heratees had been spared on the condition that they undertook the capture of Kalious. The garrison determined to anticipate them. Eight of their number under a chief noted for his reckless daring entered Herat disguised as merchants, slew the two Governors as they rode alone round the fortifications, and then spreading themselves throughout the city, raised the cry of "Death to the Mongols." The infection of excitement ran from man to man with the swiftness characteristic of Oriental temperaments. The Mongol garrison was attacked and killed to a man; a new Governor was elected; and preparations made to defend the city to the last.

Tchingiz Khan was beside himself with fury when he heard of the revolt. He discharged the first torrent of his wrath on Touloni to whose misplaced lenity he attributed this insult to his dignity. His next step was to send his General, Itchikadais, against the turbulent city with the stern order to level Herat to the ground and leave not a single living creature within it. The city was defended with the obstinacy of despair. For more than six months, the attacks of the Mongols ended only in disaster. But the besieged became gradually weakened by death,

wounds, sickness, and fatigue. The walls began to totter under the blows of the ponderous stones flung from the war machines of the Mongols. The enemy too had run their mines under the outer defences. At length a part of the wall fell with a stupendous crash. The Mongols poured into the opening, one division relieving another; the Heratees fought with desperate valour; and held the breach for several days. But at last it was carried; and the work of extermination commenced. The massacre and pillage lasted for seven days; and when the Mongols marched away a waste of smoking ruins was all that remained of Herat. But the tragic drama was not yet complete. The Mongol General advanced a few marches, and then hurried back a detachment of his army to slaughter any survivors who might by this time have emerged from their hiding places. By this ingenious device three thousand victims are said to have been added to the number of the slain. Mirkhond asserts that after this second massacre, a miserable remnant of fifteen persons was all that remained of the population of Herat. They were subsequently joined by twenty-four others. For fifteen years there was no further increase. They lived on the dried flesh of the dead until by exploring the granaries and stables they obtained seed to raise food for their subsistence.

of the town, the work of murder recommenced, and the streets of Rhe were piled up with the carcases of both sects indiscriminately put to the sword.

Here, then, we have the explanation of the Asiatic conquests of the Mongol—on the one side a huge host of barbarians strong with all the uncorrupted strength of a savage life; on the other a population enervated by luxury, honeycombed by religious dissensions, destitute of patriotism, incapable of united action, treacherous and apathetic.

At last, however (A.D. 1223), the deluge subsided; the human inundation ebbed gradually back from the heart of Southern Russia across the oases of Central Asia, silent and desolate, and blackened with the ruins of once flourishing cities, into the wild mountain land around Lake Baikal. Fearfuller calamity has never fallen upon much enduring humanity. "The noble cities," says a Persian poet, "they laid as smooth as the palm of the hand; their spacious and lofty structures they levelled with the dust." Multitudes of captives of both sexes and of every age were carried away into Mongolia; hundreds of thousands were ruthlessly slaughtered; at one time Tchinguiz Khan contemplated the conversion of the whole valley of the Sogd into a vast grazing ground for the flocks of his followers; and he withdrew leaving only "Sorrow's faded form and Solitude behind."

The two dynasties however, with whom we are concerned contrived to weather the storm. The Caliph still preserved a precarious throne in Baghdad; and the Grand Master of the Assassins still ruled in Alamut. It was not until the reign of Mangu Khan, the third of the successors of Tchinguiz Khan, that their doom overtook them. And here as throughout the history of Islam, it was the act of the Moslem himself which involved him in destruction. The seven vials of the wrath of God had been poured out upon Islam; the rivers and fountains had become blood, the land was full of darkness, and men gnawed their tongues for pain. But they repented not of their misdeeds. The same want of unity, the old sectarian animosities characterised Islam after the Mongol invasion which had cost her so heavily before. Undeterred by the remembrance of the past, the Caliph Motassem actually sent ambassadors to Mangu Khan, praying him to send an army into Persia to destroy the Assassins. Mangu Khan immediately collected an army which he placed under the command of his brother Houlagou, whom, on departing, he addressed as follows:—"I send thee, with much cavalry and a strong army from Turan to Iran the land of great princes. It is thy duty to observe the laws and ordinances of Tchinguiz Khan in great things and in small, and to take possession of the countries from the Oxus to the Nile. Assemble round thee the obedient and submissive; but tread into the dust of

contempt and misery, the refractory and mutinous with their wives and children. When thou hast done with the Assassins, begin the conquest of Irak. If the Caliph of Baghdad comes forward willingly to serve thee then shalt thou do him no harm, but if he refuse, let him share the fate of the rest." The destruction of the Caliphate was the direct result of the embassy from Baghdad.

In the month of the second Djoumada (A.H. 650), Kitbouga Noian, a famous Mongol general, quitted the court of Mangu Khan, and preceding the march of Houlagou advanced against the fortresses of the Ismailiens. Early in the following year he crossed the Oxus, penetrated into Kohistan and took possession of several places. From that province with five thousand foot and as many horse he marched against the fortress of Kirdeh-koh, one of the strongest among the many strongholds possessed by the Assassins. He encircled the place with a deep ditch, and leaving a lieutenant to carry on the siege, carried fire and sword through the neighbouring country. A successful sally on the part of the garrison of Kirdeh-koh, in which his lieutenant perished, compelled the Mongol general to retrace his steps. Despite, however, of an infectious disease which greatly thinned their numbers, the garrison obstinately held out. A reinforcement despatched by Alaeddin, the Grand Master, succeeded in effecting an entrance with only the loss of a single man. The Mongols were reduced to inaction; when at this crisis the Assassins in true Oriental fashion succeeded in achieving their own destruction. Alaeddin perished, murdered by his chamberlain at the instigation of his son, Rokneddin Kourshah. Kourshah became Grand Master, and his first act was to put to death the chamberlain, and burn his children in the market-place for the atrocious crime of murdering a Grand Master. Rokneddin, the last of the Grand Masters, a feeble, cowardly, inexperienced youth, was utterly unable to cope with the difficulties thickening around him. The terrible Houlagou was advancing westward, leaving behind a broad path of smoking ruins and unburied dead. But accidents occasioned long delays and it was not until A.H. 654, that the Mongol army came in sight of the fort-crowned mountains where reigned the Grand Master of the Assassins. The heart of Rokneddin died away within him at the sight of his enemy. With upwards of a hundred fortresses in his possession well provided with provisions, and incapable of reduction except by the slow process of blockade, he dared not strike a blow in his defence. A few months elapsed in idle negotiations, and then Rokneddin surrendered himself a prisoner to the Mongol general, and sent orders to the different garrisons to dismantle their defences. A dynasty which had lasted two hundred years collapsed at last almost without a struggle.

A terrible doom fell upon it and its adherents. The order was sent forth that the Ismaelites were to be exterminated ; not even the infant at the breast was to be spared. Rokneddin himself was murdered on the banks of the Oxus ; his wives, children, sisters, and slaves were massacred in the province of Kasveen. Twelve thousand Ismailiens were slaughtered in one spot by the Governor of Khorasan. Parties of Mongol soldiers were despatched through all the provinces wherein the *dais* had proselytised successfully, to extirpate the Assassin out of the land. Numbers of innocent beings, men and women, must have been involved in one common fate with the guilty. The whole race of Kia Buzurgomid, in whose descendants the dignity of Grand Master had become hereditary, were put to the sword ; and nothing now intervened between the city of Baghdad and her doom.

Inevitable as death the Mongolian host moved on. The earth and the heaven were full of fearful sights and great signs, ominous of coming doom.

Most of all were these apparent in the sacred territory which contained the cities of the Prophet. For an entire month, a wondrous flame shone in the sky over against the mountain of Ohod, the dazzling brilliance of which illuminated the recesses of the valleys with an awful splendour. The city of Medina was shaken by an earthquake ; and fearful sounds issued from the centre of the earth, never ceasing, night nor day, from Saturday to Monday. In the valley of the Schada, the ground opened and discharged a torrent of flames mixed with stones and burning coals. The brightness was so intense that all the houses in Medina were illuminated within as by a multitude of lamps ; and the light was seen as far as Mecca. The terror-stricken people commenced to free their slaves, to distribute alms, and crowding round the tomb of the Prophet implored him to intercede for them at the throne of God. Famine desolated Syria. An astonishing flood covered the province of Irak, and the waters did not subside for fifty days. Baghdad was submerged, so that in many parts of the city even the upper stories were under water ; and one-half of Irak remained uncultivated. The very powers of nature, as at all great crises of this world's history, appeared by their unusual agitation to experience a kindred feeling with the sufferings of humanity. It was in truth a time of terror and perplexity ; men's hearts failing them for fear and for looking after those things that were coming upon the earth. More than six hundred years had gone by since the first Arabian Caliphs had led their warriors into Syria. As the Jews of old time the believers in the One God had overthrown fenced cities and destroyed mighty armies. Like them they had enjoyed their period of probation, their time of earthly splendour ; and like them, they had at length been

weighed in the balance and found wanting. They had wrought no deliverance upon the earth ; and the decree had gone forth that there was for them no longer either the time or the place for repentance.

The inhabitants of Baghdad in the meantime, could think of no better way of preparing for the advent of the Mongols than by quarrelling among themselves. The city was divided into two factions ; the Shias who had suddenly acquired a more than usual degree of influence from the accident of the Vizier Muwaied Ibn Alkani having secretly espoused their tenets ; and the orthodox party headed by a young Secretary, Mudjahid-eddin Aibek. There were daily fights in the streets ; and of course all sorts of bad characters took advantage of the disorders to render life and property utterly insecure. The anarchy in Baghdad went on from bad to worse ; both leaders sought to work upon the fears of the Caliph and gain him as an ally. The Secretary insisted upon the duty incumbent upon the Commander of the Faithful to suppress the Shia heresy wherever it showed its head ; the Vizier represented his rival as a secret conspirator against the life of the Caliph. The Commander of the Faithful was not easily roused to action. In the seclusion of his harem, surrounded by seven hundred wives, and attended by one thousand eunuchs—never but for one day in the year coming in contact with the world outside of his palace walls, the clamor of the faction fights in the streets of Baghdad sounded faint and distant like voices in a dream. It is difficult to get anything like a clear apprehension of the mental condition of these later pontiffs of Islam, but we may behold a faint reflection of it in that of women at the present day. A woman has a truly marvellous power of mental detachment from all large matters and objects of rational interest, to concentrate herself on minute gossip and small scandals. Wars and revolutions fall upon her unheeding ear like the buzz of an unknown language. The mental condition of a Caliph was that of a modern lady, intensified tenfold. The walls of his palace enclosed not merely the world of his thoughts ; they contained the only world he knew at all. With absolute power over the lives of all who came in contact with him ; with every whim supplied the moment it was expressed ; knowing nothing of men except from the obsequious slaves that thronged around him ; the object of the adoration and awe of millions of hearts, the Caliphs passed their lives in a species of fantastic dream. They became gods in their own estimation, and the passions and turmoil of humanity fell upon their eyes "like a tale of little meaning though the words be strong." The mind of Motassem—the last of the Abbasides—had, so to speak, completely lost its apprehension of the realities of the world, and it was an almost impossible task to bring them home to

him. At length, however, he caused a letter to be written; declaring the Secretary to be a most loyal and excellent servant of the State, and all who thought otherwise to be liars and calumniators; he caused him to be clothed in a robe of honor, and his name to be inserted in the public prayer immediately after his own. The disappointed Vizier vowed vengeance. Baghdat might be destroyed; the people might fall victims to the swords of the Mongols—what cared he? Vengeance on the Caliph and on his insolent favourite the Secretary he was resolved to have, be the consequences what they might. He at once placed himself in secret communication with Houlagou, urging him to advance upon Baghdat, and promising to do his utmost to deliver the city into his hands. He then persuaded the infatuated Caliph to disband a great portion of the standing army, in order to save their pay and preserve his treasure; he pointed out to the Caliph that as the Lieutenant of the Prophet he was in a special sense under the Divine protection, and needed not as ordinary mortals to trust to the arm of flesh; he recalled to his mind that all the great Asiatic conquerors had bowed in homage before the spiritual Lord of Islam, and that beyond a doubt Houlagou the Mongol would be as Mahmoud of Ghuznee, and Toghrul Beg the Seljuk. In the meanwhile an embassy had arrived from Houlagou. "Probably," he wrote, "you have heard by universal rumour of the punishments which the Mongolian armies have inflicted upon the people of this country; the humiliation and destruction which have overtaken the kings of the East, thanks to the aid of the eternal God. The gates of Baghdat have never been closed against any of these sovereigns, who have, one and all, established their dominion there. How then can they remain closed against us who have done such things?" He went on to warn the Caliph to learn wisdom while there was yet time. If he surrendered, all would be well with him; but if not—"I will in my just anger conduct my troops to Baghdat, and not leave a living soul in your country. Your towns, your lands, and your province shall be wasted with flame." The Caliph returned a haughty reply. He reproached Houlagou for the arrogance which assumed that he was master of the world's destinies because he had enjoyed a brief period of success. He supposed that Houlagou was unaware that a vast host of believers from the rising to the setting sun were obedient, as slaves, to the mandates of the Caliph—that these would at a word gather around him in invincible strength—that having destroyed the insolent invader who had presumed to enter Iran, it was his intention to march into Turan and put down the upstarts who had usurped dominion there. But, the Caliph added, he was not greedy of blood-shedding, and if Houlagou retired quietly out of Khorasan, the past should be forgotten and

forgiven. Houlagou shook with rage when this message was communicated to him. He sent word to the Caliph that he was in full march upon Baghdad with an army innumerable as ants, and that he (the Caliph) had nothing now but fierce battles to look for.

Great was the consternation in Baghdad when this message was received; but the Caliph confident of a Divine interposition in his favour could be roused to no other measure of defence than an embassy to Houlagou, threatening him with the wrath of God if he persisted in his impious attempt against the House of Abbas. The Mongol host, meanwhile, moved steadily forward; as they approached the devoted city they threw off to right and left two large detachments to encircle and complete its investment on the further side. Houlagou retained command of the main body and advanced direct upon Baghdad by way of Kermanshah and Hulwan. At Dinawer he was met by another embassy from the Caliph offering to pay a yearly tribute if Houlagou would stay his advance. This proposal was rejected. On the 9th Mohurram A.H. 656, the advanced guard of Houlagou's army came in contact with the Baghdad troops, who drove them back after a smart skirmish. The next day, however, the main body having come up, a second battle was fought, and the Muhammadan troops utterly beaten, fled in confusion to Baghdad. By the 11th day of Mohurram, the three armies advancing from three sides completely invested the doomed city. About this time the three presidents of the descendants of Ali who resided at Helle not far from the ruins of Babylon, sent a letter to Houlagou, tendering their submission and complaining bitterly of the trials and persecution they had endured at the hands of the Abbasides. They added that they now hoped for relief, because from a tradition preserved by Ali, the ever victorious Lion of God, they knew that the fall of Baghdad was at hand. Houlagou was greatly pleased at the intelligence of this prophecy, and sent a detachment of his army to take possession of the district and preserve the inhabitants from violence.

The siege, in the meanwhile, had been pressed with relentless vigour. On every spot of commanding ground without the city projectile engines were planted which threw masses of rock and flaming naphtha. Houlagou had brought with him a corps of Chinese fire-work makers, who were specially skilled in the construction and management of these engines. For six days the walls were battered without ceasing, and the city set on fire in various places. Attempts too were made to divide the inhabitants among themselves. Missives were shot into the city, declaring that the adherents of Ali had nothing to fear. On Friday 25th Mohurram, the Persian tower crumbled into pieces; on the following Monday the Mongols stormed the breach. On the same night

the defences on the eastern side were carried by assault. Boats were then collected to form a floating bridge across the Tigris; and ten thousand men were stationed on the roads leading to Medain and Basrah to capture any of the inhabitants who sought to escape. Embassy after embassy was now despatched by the terrified Caliph to implore the clemency of the Mongol chief, but they returned without effecting anything. At last the Caliph sent his eldest son, and Houlagou so far relented as to send officers to negotiate with the Caliph. Active operations were for awhile suspended. But the negotiations were still incomplete when a chance arrow slightly wounded Houlagou himself. Mad with rage, he determined that the whole city should suffer a fearful retribution for the injury done to himself. He ordered a renegade Muhammadan to proceed to the principal gate of the city and proclaim that all who came forth and surrendered themselves to Houlagou would receive pardon and mercy. The inhabitants pressed out by thousands.

They were divided into parties of ten, and hacked to pieces by the Mongol soldiery. The Secretary Mudjahid Eddin perished in this massacre, and Suleiman Shah the chief general of the Muhammadan army together with seven hundred of his relatives. The Caliph in despair turned to the treacherous Ibn Alkami for counsel and assistance. "Nothing," replied the Vizir, "can be done now; the sword is sharpened, and already poised in air for the fatal stroke." At last the Caliph, desperate of any other chance of saving his life, determined to throw himself on the mercy of the conqueror. On the 4th of the month Safar A.H. 656 he came forth from the beleaguered city attended by his brother and two sons, and a train of three thousand of the principal men of Baghdad—the Syuds, Khatibs, Kazees and principal Ministers of State. Houlagou received the fallen monarch with an appearance of kindness; asking him only to proclaim to the armed inhabitants of the city that they should throw aside their weapons and assemble before the gates in order that a general census might be taken. The order was given and obeyed; the Muhammadan soldiery crowded into the Mongol camps, and were ruthlessly massacred. The city now lay naked and defenceless; and the savage Mongol might revel in the fierce delight of blood-shedding in absolute security. The investment round the city precluded the possibility of escape. By the orders of Houlagou the ditches were filled up and the outer walls thrown down; and then from every side the Mongols were permitted to pour in. The inhabitants were devoted to the sword; the city to pillage and to fire. On Saturday the 7th of Safar the work commenced. The city was gradually consumed by flame; the streets ran with blood; the libraries of the learned were either flung into the fire,

or the waters of the Tigris; and so great a quantity of Persian and Chinese gold tissues, Arab horses, Egyptian mules, Greek and Abyssinian slaves of both sexes, gold, silver and precious stones was found that the private soldier became richer than even the chiefs of the army had been before.

A tent in the meanwhile had been pitched for the accommodation of the Caliph and his sons. The pillage and massacre had gone on for two days, but the advancing tide of destruction had not yet reached the vast and magnificent structure where the Commanders of the Faithful had lived and reigned. On the 9th of Safar, Houlagou entered and took up his abode there. He made a great feast for a thousand of his lords. The Caliph was brought before them. "It is you," said the Mongol with mock politeness, "who ought to receive us for we are your guests. Come and let us see what worthy thing you have to give us." The Caliph broke open his treasure chests, and displayed two thousand suits of clothes, ten thousand pieces of gold, and an immense number of jewels and precious stones. Houlagou Khan flung them contemptuously to his officers. "These," he said, "any one may find and rob you of. But where are your hid treasures?" Then, under the directions of the Caliph, they dug beneath the floor of the great State-room of the Palace; presently they came upon a huge cistern filled to the brim with ingots of gold. Houlagou had plates filled with this gold and placed before Motassem instead of food, and on the Caliph's observing that gold was not food, the Mongol replied, "Because it is not food, and cannot preserve life, why did you not give it to thine army to defend thee, or to mine to pacify them." The next evening Houlagou returned to his camp. "The riches," says the Persian panegyrist of this monster, "that the Caliphs had amassed during five hundred years were heaped up like mountains round the tent of the Prince." Then the work of destruction recommenced. Dome and minaret, palace and tower came crashing down as the advancing flames licked up supporting beam and rafter. The mosque and palace of the Caliphs; the musjid of Mousa Djewad; the tombs wherein reposed the mortal remains of the Heads of Islam—in a word all the great buildings of the city were utterly consumed. The streets became a shapeless wilderness of ruins; nothing escaped except a few sheds belonging to some cow-herds. The work of slaughter kept pace with that of conflagration; the river, according to the expression of the Persian historian, flowed as red as the Nile when Moses, by a miracle, changed its waters into blood. The stench of the dead bodies became so frightful that even the callous sensibilities of Houlagou Khan were unable to endure it. He left the vicinity of the wasted city and established his residence at the villages of Wakt.

and Djelabieh. There on the 14th Safar A.H. 653, the Caliph, his sons, and five eunuchs who had never quitted their master were put to death. "On the morrow," continues the historian Rashid-eddin, "all those who had accompanied the Caliph when he left the city by the gate of Kalwaza also received the crown of martyrdom. They slaughtered without pity all they could find of the house of Abbas ; there escaped only a few who were held of no account."

R. D. OSBORN.

ART. IV.—SEETA.

Seeta. By Meadows Taylor, G.S.I., M.R.I.A., M.R.A.S., Author of "Confessions of a Thug," "Tara," "Ralph Darnell," &c. &c.

CONSIDERING how many of our countrymen have spent the best part of their days in India since first the British nation generously took upon themselves the government of this country, we sometimes wonder that so little has been done towards illustrating and rendering familiar, through the medium of the novel, the domestic life and social manners of its people. The vast majority of us, it is true, even if engaged in making laws for its varied races, or filling important places in the government itself, have been content to move merely upon the surface; and have not cared to send down many shafts or feelers among the interesting, picturesque, and almost infinitely diversified strata which lie beneath. Exercising puppy dogs, according to His Honour of Bengal, absorbs the spare faculties of some; painting in oil or water-colours, and promoting exhibitions of their handiworks, beguile the leisure, or more than the leisure, of others; while the largest class of all has simply frittered itself away over cards, billiards, and shilling novels. But there have been very many of whom none of these things can be said; and we heartily wish some few of those who have really tried to break through the thick crust which separates us from the life of the people of India had done as Colonel Meadows Taylor has, and contributed records as charming and enduring as his of their intercourse with the children of the soil.

If the lameness which we believe had something to do with consigning Scott—the future Sir Walter—to a writer's desk in Edinburgh, had admitted of his following his strong military bent, and the fates had sent him to the East, we wonder whether he would have found in the chronicles of *Furishtah* and the ballads of the bold Marhattahs some such pabulum for his genius as Schiller and Goethe, and afterwards the minstrelsy of his own glorious Borderland, supplied. Perhaps it might have been so; and India would then have gained all that Caledonia would have lost. Instead of the rides through Liddesdale, yielding Dandie Dinmonts, and Johnnie Faas, we might have had similar explorations of the valley of the Taptee or Narbadá, ending who shall say in what portraits and panoramas; and the adventures of Seewajee might have taken the place of those of a far less historical, yet, as it happens, much better-known personage, the redoubtable Rob Roy.

What India and its people might now have been had the strong light of a genius such as Scott's been reflected upon them during

the last fifty years, it is impossible even to conjecture. It may be a hard thing to say of our world, and of the conditions of humanity, yet it is not the less true, that the faculty of imagination—that deft carver and gilder—that wondrous transmuter of the baser metals into gold—is among the richest and most precious gifts with which we have been endowed. This being so; perhaps, it is a pity that India has been, by us at least, so little idealised. Very few of our poets have sung it. And yet the few who have done so, Leyden for example and Bishop Heber, have thrown upon its hamlets and mountain-tops soft tints which beautify them still. Looked at, as India has been for the last hundred years, chiefly from the policeman's, judge's, tax-gatherer's, missionary's, and task-master's points of view, it need scarcely surprise us that the estimate formed by us of its people has not, as a rule, been of the most roseate or genial description. Because over-confidence unwisely bestowed on some unworthy object has been abused in the way so common all the world over, whole races have been included in one sweeping condemnation; and the soil which yielded conquerors, poets, and lawgivers when Cæsar, Sophocles, and Solon were yet unborn is solemnly declared incapable in these days of giving birth to any higher forms of humanity than a Deputy Collector, or a Soobahdar Major. In thus judging, however, do we not remain blind to what is witnessed in the Independent States to this day; where, owing to the comparative absence of the foreigner, natives of the country command regiments, collect the revenue, administer justice, and, *mirabile dictu*, even write reports for themselves, without either producing mutinies or imposing income-taxes. And yet, if Sir Salar Jung, for example, had been born of the House of the Carnatic, and had sought employment of the Government of Fort St. George, whose subject he would then have been, we wonder what kind of appointment would have been offered to him by the Governor's Private Secretary. Truly as regards British India we have much to answer for, as having pretty well extinguished the life, not of one, but of several peoples. Admitting this to have been the inevitable consequence perhaps of our first rude contact with Hindoostan, the time has surely now come when we ought to bestir ourselves to graft more and more upon our own national life the vitality and nationality of the once vigorous races of India; by enabling them to take part with ourselves in the defence and administration of the country, not as Helots, or bondsmen—hewers of wood and drawers of water—but as men imbued with like ambitions as ourselves.

That ignorance or misconception on our part of the true characteristics and capabilities of the people of India has largely militated against their fuller development under our rule, we most firmly

believe. And therefore it seems impossible to appreciate too highly the services rendered by Colonel Meadows Taylor at once to his own country and to India in presenting us, as he has done in more than one excellent novel, with the results of his own exceptionally close intercourse with our native fellow-subjects. To what extent his pictures are idealised, and to what they may be accepted as life-like representations, is a point, it is true, which few of us can presume to determine.* Taras and Seetas it need scarcely be mentioned, are absolutely *never* to be met with in the modern Anglo-Indian drawing-room or boudoir; and if dear interesting old Aunt Ella herself, with her wearyful beads, short petticoat, and long staff, were to apply for an ayah's place in one of the nurseries of Chowringhee, her merits would have small chance of being recognised. Clearly therefore our author has this advantage, or disadvantage, as the reader may be pleased to regard it, that he is taking us over ground not hitherto very generally explored by his own countrymen. Where and how he himself first became acquainted with the models of some of his studies he nowhere informs us. To a certain extent, however, we may perhaps take his word for it that Hindoo widows pure and beautiful and learned as Seeta really exist; and that female education, at all events among the Hindoos, is not the unknown thing that it appears to the officers of the Indian Educational Department to be. To extend the same principle of belief to some of the subordinate characters in the novel before us, old Baba Sahib, for example, might hardly be so safe. Show us anywhere in India the Magistrate or Collector who reposes in his Sarishtahdár the child-like confidence that Cyril Brandon evidently reposed in Baba Sahib, and we will venture to predict of that *Hakim* that he will find himself brought somehow to grief within the short space of one year from this date.

"Seeta," like its best known predecessor "Tara," is an historical romance. It is a tale of the Great Mutiny and small Rebellion, by which phrase, though it is none of Colonel Taylor's using, we think the events of 1857-58 well admit of being described. Along with the pictures of British Generals and traitorous Nawwabs, loyal Zameendars, intriguing Brahmans, and desperate *dakaitis* and ruffians of sorts with which the historical portion of the novel presents us, there is woven, however, a story of love—several stories of love, in fact—but notably the story of how the Honourable Cyril Brandon, of the Bengal Civil Service, and Chief Civil Officer of the District of Noorpoor, wooed and wedded, and on the whole lived happily with Seeta Bye, grand-daughter of Narendra, the banker and goldsmith of Sháhganj. Enough has been said in these few words to give our readers some idea of the difficulty of the task proposed to himself by the novelist,

in carrying his two principal characters through such a rôle as theirs, without losing the sympathy of his readers, or violating the laws of verisimilitude. In the case even of Tara,—whose personal resemblance to Seeta, we may remark in passing, is perhaps a little too close, there was delicate enough ground to go over before a beautiful young Hindoo widow, whose most legitimate end was to be burned, could be made to wed, and that too with the consent of her own people, the Muhammadan soldier Fazil Khan who had rescued her first from a cruel spoiler and afterwards from the very foot of the funeral pyre itself. In her case, however, it would be mainly among Brahmaus and Bairagees that objectors to the mode in which her hand was disposed of would be likely to appear; and for the perusal of such the novel was never intended. In English and Anglo-Indian drawing-rooms, there would be but one feeling on the subject; namely, that Tara had got a gallant husband, and that Fazil Khan was a happy fellow in winning such a prize as his wife. Seeta's marriage with Cyril Brandon touches a widely different problem, however; and one which we hardly care to discuss further than to say that Colonel Meadows Taylor has acquitted himself with much skill and judgment in executing this portion of his task. If the plot of his story had terminated at the point where he had conducted Seeta and Mr. Brandon fairly within the portals of a necessarily not very complete, yet essentially honourable, matrimony, and all it was necessary for him then to do had been to dismiss them with the remark that 'they lived happily ever afterwards,' his work would have been an easy one. But such is not the true state of the case; for their union is effected at the end of the first volume; and it is not till well on in the third that it is brought to an end by Seeta's tragical death, of which more presently. Cynics tell us that, even in ordinary cases, it is after the golden gates have been entered, and married bliss brought fairly home to us, that the 'course of true love' most frequently begins not to 'run smooth.' But, however this may be as a rule, it is certain that it was only with his marriage that Cyril Brandon's difficulties began. His bright little wife, it is true, was in no way to blame for this. As usual it was "the relations," or as the Arabs call them, the "*Kawm-ul-Zalimeen*,"* that caused all the troubles. Though Seeta had been freely given to Cyril by her own people, yet much heart-burning and misery seem afterwards to have sprung up even among the latter in connection with what had happened. Cyril too was assailed by his own relatives and friends at least as cruelly as his wife was by hers. Here is what was said to him on the subject by his brother, Lord Hylton, for instance, in a

* *Tribe of oppressors.*

letter written a few mails after the news of the marriage reached the old family seat in England. We have selected the passage for quotation from among numerous other protests which reached poor Mr. Brandon to the same, or even a far harder purport; because we think it represents the view which must be taken of such a step as his by all sober-minded persons.

"Your account of what you have done in the way of marriage, Cyril, surprised and distressed me beyond expression. I have tried to put it away from my thoughts, and have allowed several mails to pass without alluding to the subject, so, perhaps, you may have concluded that I don't care about it, or approve of it. But I do care and I cannot approve; and I beg you to understand this perfectly. The person who lives with you under the form of marriage you have patched up, may be as beautiful and accomplished as Noormahal; but * * * from my heart I wish that you had never seen her. She could never take her place as your wife here, and the idea of recognising such a person as "Seeta" as a member of our old family is, as you must see yourself on reflection, perfectly absurd and impossible." * * *

Having intimated as we have our general concurrence in the above view, we can but dismiss as lightly as Cyril himself came in time to do, all such unjust remonstrances as that which reached him from his official Chief; as well as the scandalous animadversions of a certain Mrs. Smith and her friends which were freely poured out on the same occasion. Alas, that the world should contain so many Mrs. Smiths that one or two of them must needs find their way to all our principal Anglo-Indian stations; so that men who have not had an opportunity of making the acquaintance of such persons in their own country are apt to regard them as peculiar to English society in India.

Amid good reproach and bad reproach, it is pleasant to know that love, once admitted, became 'Lord of all'; and was allowed to hold his fullest sway in the case of Cyril and his wife; until the latter perished, less than a year after their union, during an attack made upon the British position at Noorpoor by mutineers and *dakaites* combined. The necessity of poor Seeta's being immolated in this sudden manner, more especially when, as afterwards turns out, her disappearance from the scene forms but a clearing of the way for her husband's marriage with a certain charming Grace Mostyn, who has occupied throughout the novel a hidden corner of his heart, is a point which Colonel Meadows Taylor must settle with his own conscience. For our own part we think it hardly in consonance with the stricter and higher rules of his art. Dickens might have handled his subject

so, did in fact once perpetrate something very similar, though far more gently effected, namely in David Copperfield ; but Shakspeare, or Scott, never. In the same category of offences we cannot help numbering the Heroding of the poor little child which had been born of Seeta's first marriage ; and still more particularly the *valeat* accorded to Lord Hylton at the close of the novel ; when consumption carries off that unfortunate nobleman, just as the spear of Azrael Pandé had made away with Seeta herself some considerable time previously : and all that Cyril Brandon and Grace Mostyn may become, not merely man and wife, but Lord and Lady Hylton of Hylton Hall. Such prodigality of life was pardonable when the same author was merely detailing the adventures of a confessing, if not perhaps very penitent, Thug ; but in a work like "Seeta" it can only be regarded as a blemish.

In thus indicating some of the defects which we deem noticeable in "Seeta" from an artistic point of view, we trust we shall not be thought desirous of detracting from the very considerable merit which the work is doubtless well entitled to lay claim to as a whole. Inferior as we would adjudge it to "Tara" in breadth of canvas, as well as in general consistency and vigour of conception, it yet contains many passages of singular power and beauty ; such, indeed, as would bear being placed side by side with the most striking portions of any work of fiction by an author living of which we happen to think just at this moment. Let our readers peruse for themselves, for example, but the first Chapter, "ON HOLY GROUND ;" and we shall be surprised if the description which it contains of the weird conclave of *dakaitis*, with all its eerie surroundings, re-produce not certain reverberations of those very sensations which were excited long long ago, when for the first time they peered with Tam o'Shanter into "Alloway's auld haunted Kirk." This is high praise ; we hardly know, indeed, of any higher ; but it is not more than Colonel Taylor's due. Obviously he is never so entirely at home as when describing robbers and their haunts. Perhaps it is as well for Colonel Hervey and his Assistants that the predatory classes in this country don't read English novels. Else assuredly such dramatising of violent crime as Colonel Meadows Taylor tasks his genius in producing might well have the effect which the representation of Schiller's famous play of 'the Robbers' is known to have had in Germany, of causing numbers of young men to follow the example set them by Baldeo and Azrael Pandé. Our educational officers, however, will have to work hard before there is much fear of that.

We do not aim at presenting our readers with any complete outline of the plot of "Seeta," because we take it for granted that the book itself will soon be lying on every table in the country. The same excellent reason warns us to be chary of

indulging in extracts; else there are very many passages which we would gladly transfer to our pages. The account of the *dakaites* committed on the house of Haree Dass in the village of Shahganj—Seeta's first husband—is in Meadows Taylor's happiest and most telling style; and the effect which he is able to produce by keeping the young wife awake during all the early hours of that ominous night, and in a manner anticipating, through the force of presentiment, the horrid scene which was about to be enacted, goes far to remind one of Cervantes. In a different, yet in its way equally artistic, vein is the description of Seeta's visit with a party of her newly made English friends to the famous water-fall of 'the Cow's Mouth.' A little ceremony, much in vogue it seems with the Brahmans, had to be performed there by Seeta,—a garland thrown into the water, to serve as an omen of woe or weal, according as it might get caught on the projecting rocks, or swim cheerily with the stream till it disappeared over the fall. Grace Mostyn is asked to throw her garland with Seeta's. Her's has a triumphant course; while Seeta's, though she marks it not, is wrecked before reaching the fall; and the little incident, says the novelist, "was never forgotten." Poor Seeta!

They who would judge for themselves of the ease and truth with which Colonel Taylor can pourtray the natives of India in their converse one with another, and who would appreciate at the same time a singularly felicitous illustration of the mode in which doubtless in numerous instances weak Nawwabs and wavering Rajahs were prevailed upon by agents stronger than themselves to range themselves against us when the mutiny was at its height, should turn to the fifteenth chapter of the novel itself; where, under the heading of "the mission of Azrael Pandé," we have a life-like sketch first of the Nawwab Dil Khan Bahádur of Pattihipur, and then of the manner in which a bigoted malvee from Delhi and the terrible, if perhaps slightly overdrawn Azrael Pandé between them so worked upon their host's fears and ambition as to make him declare for the rebel cause.

The poor Nawwab set out some time afterwards for Jhansee; where he arrived with a tolerably strong body of followers just as the British forces under Sir Hugh Rose were at last stamping out the rebellion. His fears rather than his hopes we are told had carried him thither; and the tone of his reception by that warlike woman, or rather that veritable Goddess Bhawnee, the Ranee of Jhansee, was far from encouraging. The following extract shows at once the Nawwab's sensations on the retrospect of what he had done in turning against his old friends at Noorpoor, and the sentiments entertained by the Ranee herself, according at least to Colonel Meadows Taylor, on the subject of his

defection. Whatever views may be suggested by the latter portion of the passage which we are about to quote, the former part of it at all events may well be commended to the notice in all time coming of all petty potentates who may be tempted by some fancied opportunity, or incited by some interested schemer of the Azeemullah order, to strike a parricidal blow at the British power in India :—

“ Perhaps there never had been a time since he left Fattihpur, when remembrances of its former peace and security came home so vividly to the Nawab's mind. As he closed his eyes he could see, as if from his seat in the oriel window, his gardens, and rich sugar-cane fields, and the blue hills beyond, soft, and dreamily glowing in the sun. He could hear the music which played over his castle gate at stated times of the day, and came up softly through the courts and halls. He missed his familiar gossips, the town Moulvees, and some of the bankers and landholders, who used to drop in and chat with him. Then there was peace, now there was war ; but he had won no glory, did not seem likely to win any, and was to all intents and purposes a fugitive. He had promised himself to go to Dehly to salute the ‘ King of Kings ’ sitting in pomp upon his throne, as his ancestors had done : now he had to salute an ‘ Infidel ’ Ranee, whose rank was not as high as his own. The English had of course attacked and taken his domains. Could he now win them back ? Could this Ranee help him ? Ah, no ! not now that the English seemed stronger than ever, with tens of thousands of English soldiers fresh from their country. It would be all the Ranee could do to keep her own : and indeed, there appeared little chance of that, if what his servants told him were true. As he thought of these things, sitting alone in the great hall of the Ranee's palace, tears, very bitter tears, welled up in his eyes, and there was a painful lump in his throat which would not subside ; but at last his turn came, and a macebearer, roughly to his perception, told him to ‘ get up,’ that the Lady Ranee would allow him to speak with her, and conducted him to the Royal dais, by which he seated himself, having again offered the hilt of his sword as a Nazar, or offering, which the Ranee touched lightly with her soft beautiful hand.

‘ Be at your ease, Nawab Sahib,’ she said in good Hindee, for she affected not to speak the courtly Oordoo, though she understood it perfectly. ‘ Tell me about yourself. I have often heard my lord husband speak of your gallant father. What have the English done to you that you are here with me, their enemy, and have left your fair domain ? Where are your children ?’

‘ I have no children, lady,’ he replied, sadly. The Ranee had touched a painful chord in the man's feelings. ‘ I have no children.’

‘ I see,’ she continued ; ‘ then they, the English, would not let you adopt, and you are like me ?’

‘ I did not ask them, lady.’

‘ Nay, then, by the holy Mother Gunga !’ she exclaimed, sharply,

'then hadst no wrong done thee. Was it not greed of power that led thee to rebel, not loss of honour?'

'I fought as my forefathers did, for the Faith, and for the "Asylum of the world," who conferred rank and my own provinces on me, returned Dil Khan, doggedly.

'A poor reed to lean on, Nawab,' she said, scornfully; 'a poor reed; a flickering torch, which has gone out with an evil stink, and will never be kindled again. Ah, Sir! with no wrong to redress, with no honor lost, with your faith pledged to those for whom your ancestors fought and had served; with a fine ancestral castle and estate—methinks it was a traitor's part to leave them for a phantom. Had I been like thee, the red flag of the English, which their Lord Sabib gave to my husband, and which has been soaked in English gore, had now been flying from the fort above us; and I, weak woman as I am, would have fought for them.* No harm should have come near them that I, Lukshmee Bye, could have prevented. I would have taken those English women and their babes to my breast and held them there truly and safely; while their husbands should have kept them and me against all enemies. Yes, I would have done this, Nawab, if they had been true.'

'Yet all who are here—died—were slain—lady—'

It was perilous ground to tread upon; but the Nawab's spirit had risen. He had never before been so addressed or reproached by a woman. If he were a traitor, she was a vindictive murderess. 'Slain? Yes,' she exclaimed, with her eyes flashing and her lips quivering; 'I was childless, like you, and spared none—no, not one! Do you know the history of our house? No? Well, listen. We declared for the English when their power hurled back the Mahrattas of the Dekhan. They had crushed Dehly, and that high station they could not maintain. We of Jhansy might have lost all then; but the English of that time were just and merciful, and continued to our house all it had gained. We were honoured by them, and we were loyal. We loved the English; we hoisted their flag over our own; and it would have been there now, had their old justice been continued to us. My dear lord died and ~~has~~ had no children. I asked and pleaded, in his dying words, to adopt a boy who should inherit what had been once freely given; but this was refused. Our little petition was rejected. The English with all the empire of Dehly belonging to them, refused to continue what they themselves had once granted to us freely and generously. But these men now are not like their former princely heroes; they are a mean, covetous race; farming our country from their government, seizing every scrap of land, every rupee of revenue they can, to swell their enormous gains. When we heard of Nagpoor and Sattara, we were touched for the fate of our royal houses; but we said in our simple, blind confidence, "These great acts cannot affect us, for we have been loyal and true, and the English flag flies from our towers." And yet—and yet—they did not spare us. They offered me and mine a pension.* A pension! I say, it was an insult; mean, cruel, and deliberate. Should we have honour if we were pen-

sioned ? Should we have self-respect ? I tell thee, no ! I would rather have shaved my head, and wandered on foot as a poor Baipagin, begging my way from shrine to shrine all over Hind, denouncing these English as tyrants and oppressors, than taken the crumb they fling to me—as to a dog. But there is one thing that came into my heart instead—one thing for which I waited, Nawab Sahib—we could have revenge ; and therefore I had them slain. They were ruling where I ruled ; they were collecting my money, they were changing the old customs of my people, they were corrupting our priestly caste.’

‘ There came once, before Sumbut 1914 began,’ she continued, in a lower tone, ‘ a holy Brahmin, a man who recited the “ Mysteries of Kalee Mata,” who told us the truth ; yea, in this hall he told it fearlessly. He had wandered many years preaching the same ; but my husband’s heart turned not toward him. But when he came to me, in my gloom and misery, and told me what the English had done—what they were doing, what they purposed to do to all Hind—to sweep away all royalties and all caste—I, a Brahmin woman, lone and childless, joined my tears and my prayers to his. He cried, “ There shall be no English ! Kalee Mata has given them to us, that she may drink their blood.” And when the time came and the signal, all here died—every one. Not in war, with honour, but like sheep, victims of a sacrifice to the “ Mother.” I say one and all they died, and their blood flowed, and their English flag was dipped in it, and hangs black and stiff on the walls. Dost thou understand now, Nawab, why they were slain ?’

‘ I had the same Brahmin with me, lady. His name was—’

‘ Do not mention it, sir,’ she exclaimed, moving her hand impatiently, and seeming to shudder. ‘ He comes to me when I call, and I ask for blood. All the rites he taught me call for blood—well, the “ Mother ” may have it still, and take mine in the end ; but death is sweeter than dishonour ; and if I win, Khan Sahib!—if we Mahrattas win, there may be a Peshwa at Poona, though there will be no Emperor at Dehly. Now go, sir ; your quarters are allotted to you, and the duty of your men. For yourself, you will receive the daily rations of your rank while you stay.’

We hope we have so far succeeded in our endeavour to attract the attention of our readers to the book itself as to render all further quotation from its pages superfluous. The general grounds on which we would attach much value to works of this nature have been sufficiently indicated above, and need not again be enlarged upon. Though unhappily we are unable from our own slender experience to certify the existence of beings so beautiful, and so nearly perfect, as Seeta in any portion of India with which we are acquainted, and though, as already declared, we should be sorry to give any Sarishtahdár that we have ever seen or heard of the same chance of *looting* a district that Mr. Brandon plainly gave to old Baba Sahib of *looting* his, yet it is pleasant to recognise in some of the worthiest characters in all the

book exactly such persons as we have seen in our actual intercourse with the natives of this country. Such, in "Tara," were the fine old soldier Afzool Khan and his dashing son Fazil; as well as the faithful Bulwunt Rao, the stout hunchback, and, last but not least, Larlee Khanum, with all her babblings about the stars, and her fractious womanly ways. And so in "Seeta" the very hand that drew Falstaff or Sir Roger de Coverley might have sketched Haree Dass, the banker of Gokalpur, Aunt Ella, Narendra, and especially Bulram Sing, the stout yeoman of Doodhpur, so essentially recognisable are all these as types of real persons. Therefore we may fairly indulge the hope that there is more of reality than idealism even in such portraits as Seeta's own self. If so, then the moral and social regeneration of India may not be so far off as it appears to be. For all that, however, we recommend—and we do not understand Colonel Meadows Taylor himself as intending that his book should bear any different moral—that European Judges and Magistrates should look with judicial eyes only on such as Seeta, where by some rare accident they appear before them to give evidence against the murderers of their deceased husbands, for so it was that Seeta first dawned upon the vision of the Honourable Cyril Brandon, in his office-tent at Shahgunj—and that, so long as the "maids of Merrie England," and the lassies of Bonnie Scotland are willing to share with us our joys and sorrows in the East, doubtful and dangerous experiments such as Cyril and Seeta made should by all means be avoided. Without taking any higher than a merely Darwinian or physiological ground, such a match is at all events open to the objection which was urged by a Fifeshire farmer before the days of Railways, when his son proposed to wed in a distant country,—*"it's too strong a CROSS."*

ART. V.—THE TERRITORIAL ARISTOCRACY OF BENGAL.

NO. V.—THE KASIMBAZAR (*Cossimbazar*) RAJ.

- 1.—*Records of the Government.*
- 2.—*Memoirs relative to the state of India.* By Warren Hastings.
- 3.—*The Works and Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke*, Vols. VII. and VIII. 1852.

THE seat of the Kásimbázár (*Cossimbazar*) House is in the district of Murshidábád, the Muhammadan capital of Bengal. Kásimbázár is three miles distant from the city. It was the largest silk emporium belonging to the East India Company. To it the filatures of Rámpur Boáliyá, Máldah and other neighbouring districts and stations were subordinate. These filatures were all situated in such places as were noted for cocoon-rearing. Thousands of people used to receive advances from the Commercial Resident of Kásimbázár, and supply cocoons to the filatures. An immense number of *muhájirs* brought their silk piece goods, and received their stipulated remuneration. Connection with the business of the factories led to the enrichment of several families which now occupy a conspicuous position in Murshidábád. Among them the Sanyal family is the principal.

In the time of Kánta Bábu, the founder of the Kásimbázár House, Kásimbázár was, as above described, a large and flourishing place. It was essentially a commercial town and was the residence of merchants and *mahájans*, *shroffs* and *gudíwálás*. The population which consisted chiefly of Hindús could be estimated at one hundred thousand souls. They were chiefly Vaishnavas in religion and followers of Chaitanya. While buying and selling were going on, the streets were resonant with *mirdangas* and the *karatádis* accompanying the *krittans*.

The town was built of bricks, being so thickly studded with *pucka* houses, that it was a common saying that one could make a circuit of it by jumping from one house-top to another. The length of the town was three miles and its breadth was two miles. There were about a hundred shroffs or bankers who conducted the monetary transactions of the place. Contiguous to or rather adjoining Kásimbázár were Káikapur and Fareshdángá; the former was the head-quarters of the factory of the Dutch, and the latter that of the French. Bhátpárá, Bámangáchi, and Chunákháli constituted the suburbs of Kásimbázár. Chunákháli was and still is noted for the excellence of its mangoes; and the fruits that are sent down to Calcutta from Murshidábád in the months

Jyáishtha and Ashár pass by the name of Chunákláli mangoes. All these places were originally situated on a curve of the river Bhágirathi; but seventy years ago, a straight cut was made forming the chord of the curve, thus changing the course of the river and throwing the towns inland. This engineering operation was followed by the breaking out of an epidemic fever which, in virulence and mortality, is unparalleled by any pestilence save that which destroyed Gaur. The epidemic was of the same type as that which is now raging in Bardwán. In the course of a few years, three-fourths of the population died out; and Kásimbázár, from being at one time a most populous place, is now overgrown with jungle, and the abode of wild beasts. During the continuance of the epidemic, the rites of cremation and funeral could not be performed; the dead being carried away in carts for disposal. The fever continues to the present time, and travellers passing through the place are stricken by it. This fact shows that the causes of the epidemic are still in active operation. Thus the great commercial mart of Kásimbázár was laid in ruins. The decimation of the population was closely followed by the dilapidation of the buildings. Most of the houses are now in ruins; the bricks having been removed to supply the materials for buildings elsewhere.

But in describing the epidemic we have anticipated the course of events. In the time of Kánta Bábu, Kásimbázár was healthy being felicitously situated on the banks of the river; and was a flourishing and important city.

The *Calcutta Gazette* of the 29th September 1785 thus describes a great inundation in Kásimbázár. "We are sorry to learn by letter from Murshidábád that in consequence of the unusual height of the river (which has been such as was never known in the memory of man) the great river had overflowed its banks and laid the country between the city and Bogwangola entirely under water; and had by the channel of Ackharpore Lake even penetrated the eastern parts of the city; that from the same unfortunate cause some of the dykes on the Cossimbazar river had likewise given way below the Berhampore Cantonments; and that the water from these two sources having joined, had overflowed all that part of the country and had come up to the walls of the Cossimbazar filature." In November 1787 the effects of a tremendous cyclone were experienced at Kásimbázár. We are informed by the *Calcutta Gazette* that Major and Mrs. Dunn were drowned in the "Cossimbazar river."

Tradition mentions Kálí Nandi as the ancestor of Kánta Bábu. He was formerly an inhabitant of a village named Shijlá in the district of Bardwán, but he came up to Murshidábád and settled himself at Sripur in the precincts of Kásimbázár.

He was a dealer in silk *kuthne*, a description of cloth manufactured with silk and cotton thread. At one time the trade in *kuthne* was very thriving in Murshidábád, but it has now fallen into decay. Káli Nandi left two sons, the eldest of whom begat Rádhá Krishna Nandi, who, like his forefathers, dealt in silk; he also kept a shop for the sale of betelnuts. He used to sell among other things paper kites. He could fly the kites remarkably well and was therefore called *Khalifá* or "expert." The son of Rádhá Krishna *Khalifá* was Krishna Kánta Nandi, alias Kánta Bábu. Though the son of an obscure man yet he achieved eminence by his tact, perseverance, and knowledge of human nature. His chief distinction was not talent, but great shrewdness and capacity for business. His primary characteristic was his acquaintance with the springs of human actions; and the influence he thereby acquired over his fellow beings was great. Mixing with the governors and governed, he could persuade them to act and react on each other.

Kánta Bábu received a fair vernacular education; and had also a smattering of English which was of immense advantage to him. In those days it was a great thing for a native to make himself understood by Europeans in respect to the common affairs of life. There are most amusing stories current of banians of big houses talking to the *adhib logs* partly in broken English and partly in a strange language of their own manufacture. Some of these men left colossal fortunes. Kánta Bábu entered the Kásimbázár concern as an apprentice. As soon as he mastered the rudiments of the silk business, he was appointed a *muharrir*. He was at last promoted to the office of writer; in which capacity he was brought into frequent contact with Mr. Warren Hastings, the then Commercial Resident of Kásimbázár.

Though that receiving factory had been established with the permission of the Muhammadan Government, yet Siráj-ud-Daulah hearing of the lucrative business carried on in Kásimbázár, oblivious as he always was of moral obligations, resolved to arrest the Commercial Resident and to extort money from him.

The settlement was seized and Hastings was sent a prisoner to Murshidábád, but he escaped, while the Nawáb marched on Calcutta and enacted the tragedy of the "Black Hole," for which the memory of that monster must be ever execrated.

With a view to recapture Hastings, the Nawáb had ordered his horsemen and twelve Khástdárs to arrest the Resident. Hastings was in imminent danger of his life. An open flight he could not attempt with impunity. With Kánta Bábu, who lived in the immediate vicinity, he took counsel. Kánta Bábu did not advise his master to take shelter in any *gadi*, shop, or any other public place, as spies were not wanting to ferret out his where-

abouts. He offered to conceal him in his house. There Mr. Hastings was accordingly received and sheltered after his escape. Not satisfied with sheltering Hastings, Kánta Bábu managed, with great difficulty, to take him down to Calcutta in a boat and had the satisfaction of seeing him land there. The ex-Commercial Resident and his *karání* parted with expressions of mutual goodwill.

Grateful for the protection, he promised to Kánta Bábu to advance his prospects in life, in the event of his returning to Calcutta and attaining some high post. To guard against his forgetting Kánta Bábu, he gave him a written memorandum which he requested him to produce at the proper time.

It was on Kásimbázár that Clive advanced with his troops, while Siráj-ud-Daulah was marching with his mighty force to Plassey to encounter him. It was there that Mír Jáfar, after having promised to separate himself from his master, wavered in his intention, and hesitated to carry over his division to Clive. It was there that Clive called a Council of War, of which the majority pronounced for masterly inactivity. It was there that disregarding their advice he determined to fight against fearful odds. It was there that the 39th Regiment sharing in his enthusiasm promised to shed the last drop of their blood under his guidance.

After the battle of Plassey, Hastings was appointed Agent of the East India Company in the Court of Mír Jáfar. In 1761 he was promoted to the office of Member of Council in Calcutta. In 1764 he returned to England and remained there four years. In 1769 he returned to India as Member of Council at Madras. Early in 1772 he succeeded Mr. Cartier as Governor of Bengal. He sent to Kásimbázár for Kánta Bábu, but a host of men all calling themselves Kánta Bábu presented themselves before Mr. Hastings, who examined their features, and was satisfied that they all falsely personated the faithful man. He asked them if any of them could inform him what had passed between him and Kánta Bábu, but they were unable to do so. At last the real Simon Pure appeared and produced the memorandum which had been given to him. Mr. Hastings recognised his writing and was satisfied. He employed him as his banyan.

But being not well versed in zemindary affairs he was unable to discharge the duties of his office unaided. He therefore associated with himself as co-baniar, Gunga Gobinda Singh, the founder of the Kándi family, the history of which will be sketched in a future number. Gunga Gobinda had been employed in the Settlement Department, under the Nawáb Nazim of Bengal, and was then serving under the British Government as Head Ameen of Bírhum. When he joined Kánta Bábu he was gene-

rally called Dewán Gungá Gobinda Singh. He was well acquainted with Persian and zemindáry accounts and rendered most valuable assistance to his patron and friend Kánta Bábu. For the purpose of being always near him he built a house at Charak-dángá near Páthuriagháttá, now known as Lálá Bábu's house.

Kánta Bábu had been employed by Mr. Hastings as his banyan when he succeeded Mr. Cartier as Governor. The value as well as the dignity of the Bábu's office were greatly enhanced when Mr. Hastings became Governor-General. Muhammad Rezá Khán, the Náib Subáhdár, being deposed, Mr. Hastings proceeded to Murshidábád for the purpose of removing and re-organising the government. His object was to abolish the system of double government in Bengal; for it must be remembered that while all military affairs were conducted by the English, the internal government of the country was entrusted by them to the Náib Subáhdár who was the *de facto* Nawáb.* To him were delegated the administration of justice and the collection of revenue. The removal of Muhammad Rezá Khán afforded Mr. Hastings the opportunity of getting rid of an anomalous state of things. Kánta Bábu accompanied his master to Murshidábád, and advised him on the changes to be effected. Civil and criminal courts were established throughout the province. The lands were roughly assessed and let out on leases of five years, the office of the Náib Subáhdár, and the salary of three lákhs of rupees a year attached to the same, were divided amongst three persons, namely, Maní Begam, the widow of Mir Jafár, who was appointed the guardian of the young Nawáb; Kumár Gurudás, the son of Rájá Nanda Kumár, who was appointed Diwán; and Rájá Rájballásh who was appointed Rái Ráyáu of the Khálsá. The seat of Government with all the departments and offices attached thereto was removed to Calcutta.

In reorganising the revenue system it was provided by the Governor-General, with the concurrence of his Council, that no farm of lands should exceed the amount of a lakh of rupees per annum; and that no banyan or other officer of whatever denomination should be allowed to farm lands, or to be security for any farmer. But in contravention of this regulation, Mr. Hastings granted Kánta Bábu farms to the amount of thirteen lákhs of rupees per annum. The illegality and impropriety of this proceeding called forth the severe censure of the Court of Directors; and subsequently formed the subject of Parliamentary enquiry. When Warren Hastings was impeached, the 15th charge against him referred to this matter:—"The said Governor-General did permit and suffer his own banyan or principal black steward named Kánta Bábu to hold farms in different Parganá's or to be security for farms to the amount of thirteen lakhs of rupees per annum;

and that after enjoying the whole of those farms for two years, he was permitted by Warren Hastings to relinquish two of them which were unproductive." On this charge Mr. Hastings was however pronounced not guilty. But there is no doubt that Kánta Bábu was directly or indirectly the *ijárádár* of several highly productive zamíndáris, the value of which has now been largely increased. When Hastings proceeded to Benares to punish the refractory Rájá, Chait Singh, he was accompanied by Kánta Bábu. He there performed an act of chivalry which is worthy of record. When the palace was seized, some of the soldiers and officers, with a view to plunder the Ránís of their jewels and treasure, attempted to force an entry into the *zanáná*. Kánta Bábu remonstrated with them on their unmartial and unmanly conduct, and barred their entrance. But his remonstrances being unheeded he interceded with Hastings on behalf of the Ránís; and represented to him that noble ladies of the East who were not permitted to cross the precincts of the *zanáná* should not be subjected to the indignity and disgrace of being roughly handled by strangers. On his intercession Hastings interfered and the Ránís were saved. Kánta Bábu then provided pálkis and had the Ránís conveyed from the Rájbarí to a place of comparative safety. Grateful for this act, the Ránís took off jewels from their persons, and presented Kánta Bábu with the same. He also obtained from the Ránís, Lakshmi-naráyan, Silá, Ekmukh, Rudráshí, Dakshinabratta, Sankha, and other idols. These objects of Hindu worship may still be seen at the Kásimbázár Rájbarí.

On his return from Benares Mr. Hastings bestowed upon him a *jágír* situated at Gházípur and Azimganj, and obtained from the Nawáb Názim, the then fountain of honour, the title of Mahárájá Bahádúr for his son Loknáth.

The following sanad granting the *jágír* may interest the reader :

The victorious Emperor Sháh Alam, the devoted Farzand Sádat Mand Amír-ul-Mumálik Itimad-ud-daulá, Warren Hastings, Bahádúr Jaládat Sinh, Governor-General.

To the present and future Matsaddis of the affairs of Government and zamíndárs and chaudhrís and kántíngos and mukadams and tenants and cultivators of Parganá Gházípur purchased by Government situated in Subah Alláhábád; be it known. That *Jágír Mauzás* to the amount of ten thousand rupees are at present settled upon Deyán Krishna Kánta Haudí by way of an *altamghá* donation to enable him to defray the expense of the worship of the Thákúr from the commencement of the autumn season in Aodiyal 1189 one thousand one hundred and eighty-nine Faslí, according to the Zamín, so that he may take possession thereof and hold control over the same and he and his descendants apply the produce thereof to defray the necessary expense of the wor-

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- ship of the Thákur. It behoveth that you consider the aforesaid original mauzās and increase thereof to be free and exempt from being liable to charge and alteration, as well as from all the Diwānī contributions and Government demands and not deviate from his advice for the welfare of the tenants and inhabitants and the cultivation of the lands, nor require a new Sanad every year. The conduct that the abovenamed is to observe is this, that he shall take and use the produce of the original lands and increase thereof, he and his descendants, without participation or partner, and pray for the welfare of Government and continue the tenants and inhabitants pleasure and thankfully adopting salutary measures and exert himself strenuously for the increase of cultivation and augmentation of duties and exercise no oppression or injustice towards the inhabitants of that place by any means and take care of the public roads, that passengers may pass and repass in full confidence and suffer nobody to commit any prohibited act or drunkenness, and refrain from levying any of the branches of revenue that have been discontinued. Consider this to be express and act as written above. Date, the twenty-seventh of Safy, year 26th of the Reign, corresponding with the 10th of January 1785, English year.*

The principal estates of the Kásimbázár House are as follows :—

Báharband in Zilá Rangpur, Jogsháhi, in Dinájpur; Amrul in Rájsháhi; Mihirpur in Nadiyá; Plassey in Murshidábád; Chota Báliápur in Puruliá; Jaigoer in Gházipur as above mentioned. There are other estates in Máldah, Bagurá, Pabná, and several other districts. Báharband is unquestionably the largest and most profitable zamindári; embracing an extensive portion of Rangpur, and yielding a net profit of one lákh and seventy-five thousand rupees per annum. The aggregate income of the Kásimbázár House is three lákhs and fifty thousand rupees and close upon four lacs from lands alone. Some of these estates stood in the name of Kánta Bábu himself, while others were made over to his son through his influence.

Kánta Bábu visited Purí to offer his homage and worship to Jagannáth. The arrival of such an immensely wealthy man delighted the hearts of the Pandás, who expected to reap a rich harvest of rupees from the piety and bounty of the Bábu. But when they heard that he was a Teli,* they understood him to be a common Kalu or oil-man, whose business it was to manufacture and sell oil. They therefore believed his caste and vocation incapacitated him from making any grant which might be accepted by the Bráhmans. When, therefore, he offered to found an Atke or

* Further particulars of the grant be given in detail. are endorsed, which need not here

a fund for feeding the poor, the Pandás pronounced that he could not be allowed to do so, inasmuch as his gifts were, by reason of his low caste, not acceptable. Kánta Bábu to prevent this scandal wrote to the Pandits of Nadiyá, Tribeni, and other celebrated Samajis for Byábasthá on the subject of his competency to make gifts at Puri. The Pandits thus referred to unanimously gave their verdict in his favour, a verdict founded on the dictum *tula danda dhári taulik*; i.e., *Telis are not common oil-men, but derive their appellation from the fact of their holding the scales for the weighment of goods, and that the word Telí is the corruption of the word Taulik*. As holding the scales and weighing the goods is a vocation common to all merchants and *mahájans*, the Telis came in the same category with other Navasáks or second class Súdras, and like them, were entitled to the privilege of making gifts. The opinion of the Pandits of Bengal was conclusive and satisfied the Pandás of Orissa. Accordingly Kánta Bábu was allowed to found Atkes and make presents to Bráhmans. The case of Kánta Bábu was remarkable, and is cited by his co-caste men as a precedent. Any opulent Telí now going to visit Jagannáth when questioned as to his caste replies that he is of Kánta Bábu's caste. It is said in the time of Kánta Bábu the *nat* or nose-ring was used by only Bráhmans and Káyasths, but he introduced it amongst the female members of his own caste.

Kánta Bábu was very neighbourly, and did everything in his power to promote the comfort of those around him. A Kalu or oil-man was his next door neighbour, and he was advised by his friends to oust him; but he refused to do so, saying that he attributed his good luck to the vicinage of the Kalu, whose face he used to see every morning.

In Paus 1195 B.S., Dewán Krishna Kánta Nandí departed this life; leaving as his son and heir, Mahárájá Loknáth Rái Bahádur.

The founder of the Kásimbázár House was a remarkable man. Destitute of education, he did not lack capacity to familiarise himself with the principles and details of legislation and administration. Gifted with no statesmanship, he could yet advise Statesmen and rulers of men. He died, leaving a magnificent estate, and one which has descended in its entirety to the present proprietors, instead of being subjected like other estates to infinitesimal subdivision. The cause of the non-disintegration is that there has always been but a single inheritor.

Mahárájá Loknáth Rái represented the Kásimbázár House for thirteen years, during the last half of which he suffered from an incurable disease which physically incapacitated him from achieving anything great. He died in the 1211 B.S., leaving his son

Kumár Harináth then an infant of one year only. The Court of Wards administered the estate during the minority of Harináth. In 1227 B.S. Harináth attained his majority. One of his first acts was the contribution of Rs. 15,000 towards the establishment of the Hindu College. For this and other charities he received from Lord Amherst the title of Rájá Bahádúr. The sanad is dated 26th February 1825. Soon after his attainment of majority he was involved in a most protracted and expensive litigation with his kinsmen Syámá Charan Nandi and Rám Charan Nandi. The case was instituted by them in the Supreme Court. The claim was laid at half the share of the estate. Under the worry and trouble inseparable from this irksome litigation, he had scarcely time left to do anything particular for the good of his country and was obliged to forego some of his public projects. The case was at last dismissed.

Rájá Harináth Rái was very fond of music and especially of Kabi. It was his favourite amusement, not only to have Kabi in his own house, but to go to hear it in other houses. The Kabi consists of songs generally improvised for the occasion, and sung alternately by two different parties to the accompaniments of Dholes. The parties assume for the time being a hostile or rather offensive and defensive attitude, and abuse each other freely towards the close of the night in certain songs called *Khaaors*, generally of an obscene nature. Haruthákúr, Niluthákúr, Bholá Moyra, Balá Bastum, Ram Basu, Chintámoní, commonly called Chinte Moyrá, and Anthony Sáhib, an East Indian, were the principal Kabiwalas or heads of the Dals.

Harináth was an able-bodied person and was fond of *athletics*. He kept a Gymnasium, where fighting and fencing were constantly going on. He employed a host of barkandázes and kustiwalás, but was obliged to replace a great many of them frequently, owing to their being disabled from the effects of the epidemic fever. On one occasion some barkandázes fresh from the Upper Provinces arrived and took service under the Rájá. He desired his old servants to fight the new men; but they pleaded for time, saying that if the new men should remain for three months, they would beat them, thereby meaning that the former would in that time catch the epidemic fever, and become as emaciated and disabled as themselves.

It was during Harináth's time that Sanskrit learning flourished in Kásimbázár. There were several Chattuspátis to which students flocked from other districts. The chief of the Pandits was Krishnanáth Náya-panchanán. He was profoundly versed, not only in the Nyáya Shástra, but also in Smriti. He had studied Nyáya at Nadiyá and was considered a first-rate Naiyayik. His Byabasthás were noted for their accuracy and clearness.

Rájá Harináth was a Vaishnava, or follower of Vishnu. He was an orthodox Hindu, and delighted in the company of pious Bráhmans. He was a Persian scholar and a fair accountant.

Harináth departed this life in the month of Agráháyan 1239 B. S., leaving behind him one son, one daughter, and his widow, Rání Hara Sundarí, who is still living at the Calcutta house; and is drawing an allowance of Rs. 7,200 a month.

Harináth Rái died during the minority of his son Krishnanáth. No pains were spared to afford a liberal education to Krishnanáth. He was at first taught by a native private tutor; and acquired a respectable knowledge of the vernacular, English, and Persian languages. But under the orders of the Board of Revenue, the Persian was discontinued; and Mr. Lambrick was appointed English teacher, in order to impart an education suitable to the rank and position of the youth.

Krishnanáth had been put under severe and undue restraint by Mr. Steer, the Collector of Murshidábád; but Mr. Hawkins, the Commissioner of the Division, most judiciously released him from it.

Krishnanáth could not only write English with ease, but from the circumstance of his mixing freely with Englishmen, acquired the habit of speaking that language fluently. He was fond of European society, and was very hospitable to his European friends and acquaintances. He attained his majority in 1247 B.S., corresponding with 1845 A.D. The title of Rájá Bahádúr was conferred on him in the year 1841 during the administration of Lord Auckland. The accumulations of his minority amounted to several lákhs which he freely spent. He did not know the value of money, and was extravagant to a degree. He expended forty-one lákhs of rupees during the four years of his majority.

He was fond of hunting and shooting and spent large sums of money in the pleasures of the chase. He undertook hunting expeditions to Máldah and other neighbouring districts and was accompanied by an immense number of beaters and camp followers. His camp resembled a palace in canvas and was brilliantly lighted up at night, when he used to dine *en prince* with his friends and companions.

The Editor of the *Bhaskar*, commonly called Gúrgúrá or dwarf Bhattácharjya, having attacked the Rájá most indecently, was immediately called to account by the latter. The Rájá prosecuted him in the Supreme Court, where the Bhattácharjya was convicted of libel, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

Having received a private education, the Rájá was destitute of that mental and moral discipline which public education alone imparts. Having had no opportunity of mixing freely with fellow-students,

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he conceived himself to be the absolute master of the destinies of those who were his dependents; and he could not always govern his temper in dealing with them. But though not endowed with a disciplined mind, he was capable of initiating and executing comprehensive plans for the benefit of his fellow-beings. He fully appreciated education as a great and unspeakable blessing and did his best to promote it. Neither was he slow to recognise the merits of those to whom the cause of education was indebted. When David Hare, the apostle of education died, he anticipated the wishes of his enlightened countrymen by convening a public meeting at the theatre of the Medical College for the purpose of taking measures to perpetuate the memory of the deceased. In that meeting he took an active part; and voted for a statue of David Hare, towards which he contributed the largest subscription. In his will he bequeathed the whole of his estates to Government for the foundation of a University at Murshidábád, to be called after his name. But the will was set aside by the court, and the benevolent intentions of the testator were thus frustrated.

Krishnanáth was extraordinarily attached to his servants; and even went the length of nominating his *khánsamá* as one of the trustees of the University Fund under his will—which circumstance led the court to believe that he was not of sound mind at the time of its execution. But he was not only fond of those who ministered to his comforts. He appreciated those officers and *amlá* who gave him good counsel and directed him in the right path. He was not slow to recognise and reward their merits. To one of them, now a distinguished member of the Hindu community, he awarded an honorarium of a *lakh* of rupees. The letter in which it was conveyed is as creditable to the donor as to the donee.

Rájá Krishnanáth took great interest in the *lákhtaráj* or resumption question. The Landholders' Society at first petitioned the local Government against the impolicy and injustice of resuming *lákhtaráj* tenures; but the petition being rejected, a monster meeting was convened at the Town Hall for the purpose of memorialising the authorities in England against the resumption measure, and also for co-operating with the British India Society of London, formed under the auspices of Lord Brougham. At this meeting Rájá Krishnanáth spoke, and moved one of the resolutions.

The death of Krishnanáth was premature and tragical. He committed suicide by blowing out his brains. It has been mentioned above, that in spite of his good qualities, his temper was ungovernable. A servant in his employ had been subjected for some neglect of duty to a severe beating and then to torture. Complaint having been made to the Magistrate, Mr. Bell, he was summoned and bound down in his own recognisances, and in

heavy securities, to appear. He pleaded his innocence, but the plea did not avail him. The dependant who had been beaten and tortured, died from the effects of the assault. The Rájá had in the meantime come to Calcutta and was lodging in his house at Jorásáuko. A *post mortem* examination of the body having been held, the Magistrate issued a warrant for the apprehension of the Rájá, and directed that he should be conveyed from Calcutta to Murshidábád *Tháná-ba-Tháná, i., e.,* from one police station to another. This was an unnecessarily severe proceeding, and was at the time considered by the public a very vindictive one. The scandal and disgrace of being forwarded from the metropolis to the Faujdári Adálat of Murshidábád like a thief or common criminal before he was tried was more than he could bear, and he resolved to put an end to his existence. On the day previous to his death, which took place on the 31st of October 1844, he sat up all night and drafted his will in his own language; granting a monthly allowance of Rs. 1,500 to his widow, the Rání, (now Maharání) Sarnamayí, and withholding his permission to her to adopt a son and heir, and bequeathing the bulk of his estates to educational purposes. On the next morning he blew out his brains with a pistol.

Thus died a young nobleman who with all his faults and eccentricities was endowed with some qualities not commonly to be found among his countrymen. But he was essentially an impulsive man, and his impulses sometimes led him to the right and sometimes to the wrong. He fell a victim to them.

The *Friend of India* thus commented on this tragical event: "Thus has the family of Kánta Bábu become extinct in the fourth generation, and the residue of the property which he accumulated by means which the Court of Directors and the House of Commons condemned with such severity, has been devoted to an object which will preserve the name of the family in lasting remembrance."

The sudden and sad death of her husband at first prostrated the young Rání. She was stricken by this appalling calamity. She was as *Rachel* who would not be comforted. She would be a *Sávitri*; but she gradually found solace in a career of active benevolence. Hers has been an overflowing, never-ending, and ever-beginning benevolence.

It may be that charity and piety as a rule, are oftener found in the cottage than in the Rájbarí; but, any rate, whatever may be the national vices of the Hindús, it cannot be said that as a people they are devoid of charity. On the contrary, it forms, indeed, a conspicuous trait in their character. To this the immense number of tanks, guest-houses, *atisháls* and asylums, abounding in every part of the country, bear abundant testimony.

The Rájás and Zamíndárs have, as a rule, appropriated a portion of their wealth to the establishment of Thákurbáris and the excavation of *dighís* and tanks. But this charity is often indiscriminating; it often embraces objects and institutions of questionable utility. But the charity of Mahárání Sarnamayí has been grandly catholic, *unalloyed by any unworthy motives*, rising above distinctions of creed and colour, and benefiting all nationalities alike. It recognises the principle that a man as a man has a claim to the humane assistance of those who are able to afford it. The infinity of her donations attest the truth of our remarks. They are not confined to orthodox charities. Educational institutions conducted both by laymen and missionaries have largely benefited by her aid and countenance.

In recognition of her numerous and munificent charities, the late Lord Mayo conferred upon the Rání Sarnamayí the title of Mahárání. The investiture took place at Kásimbázár in the presence of the Commissioner acting on behalf of the Government.

On August 20th 1872, the Lieutenant-Governor paid the Mahárání a visit at Kásimbázár. The Mahárání was seated behind the *pardá*. His Honour and party were received by Díwán Rájib Lochan Rái Bahádur, who also acted as interpreter between His Honour and the Mahárání. His Honour thanked the Mahárání for her munificence; and complimented her by calling her the "best female subject of the Queen in the Bengal Presidency." The Mahárání disclaimed all merit; and declared in all humility that her charities were dictated by her sense of duty to her fellow-beings rather than by desire of fame.

It does not lie within our province, in these papers on the territorial aristocracy of Bengal, to pass judgment upon or to criticise in any way the lives and actions of living persons; and in our remarks on the good deeds of the amiable Mahárání Sarnamayí, we have already perhaps gone somewhat beyond our *métier*. We believe however that we shall be justified in the opinions of our readers for thus bringing her prominently to their notice; and it gives us real pleasure to know that there are other native ladies in high families, full of self-abnegation, devout, and devoted to the good of the human race.

ART. VI.—THE HORSE SUPPLY OF INDIA.

- 1.—*Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabees, collected during his Travels in the East.* By the late John Lewis Burckhardt. 1831.
- 2.—*The Horses of the Sahara, and the Manners of the Desert.* By E. Daumas; with Commentaries by the Ameer Abd-ul-Kadir, translated from the French by James Hutton. 1863.
- 3.—*Pure Saddle-Horses, and how to breed them in Australia.* By Edward M. Carr. Melbourne.
- 4.—*The Views and Opinions of Brigadier-General John Jacob,* C.B. 1858.
- 5.—*The Oriental Sporting Magazine.* New Series. 1868-73. Calcutta.

THE present seems an appropriate time for inviting our readers' attention to the subject of the supply of horses for the public service in India. While a committee composed of men who are thoroughly in earnest has already taken several steps towards placing this matter on a sound footing, let us try to contribute towards the same end by enquiring into the principles on which satisfactory or unsatisfactory results depend. This much may be done in the quiet library, even better, perhaps, than in the tent pitched to-day near one stud depôt, and to-morrow near another: while if the true theory or *rationale* of the subject could even in part be apprehended, their ultimate success would be greatly facilitated.

The question of our horse-supply, though primarily a military one, is far from exclusively so. Some one has quaintly yet not altogether unaptly said, that India is held and governed not by the Anglo-Saxon alone, but by the Anglo-Saxon and his horse. Be this as it may, it is certainly of importance that our civil administrators equally with our soldiers should be enabled to mount themselves suitably and at prices which they can afford. If it be true that the horse has formed something like a central figure in the military annals of mankind, ever since those ancient and pre-historic times when the war-horse immortalised by the Patriarch Job first uttered his now proverbial "Ha Ha," and went "on to meet the armed men," down to the era of the Indian Mutiny, when General Havelock, for want of cavalry wherewith to follow up his successes, had sometimes to defeat the same horde of rebels twice in one day, has not the same noble animal played a prominent part in our peaceful enterprises too? Has not the land of the five rivers, for example, not to mention the province of Nagpore at a later period, brought under our in-

fluences, such as these are, with a rapidity and completeness, seldom before witnessed, by means of consuls and pro-consuls who loved their saddles, looked coolly on buggies, and wholly eschewed palanquins? And were not the late Lord Mayo's rides over the length and breadth of his dominions among the strongest and most hopeful features of his too brief administration?

Before proceeding to investigate the methods by which horses suitable for military and general purposes may be obtained, it is evidently necessary to determine exactly the description of horse that is wanted. This may be pronounced a mere truism, and yet we suspect the point is one that has been a good deal overlooked in practice. The English horse, in certain of his higher forms, has been converted by artificial processes pursued for several generations into such a paragon of excellence *relatively to the particular performances which are required of him*, that our countrymen have not unnaturally, yet quite illogically, come to regard him as the very type and embodiment of equine excellence in general. Granted his excellence; yet we must bear in mind that it is only for certain descriptions of work, and under certain favouring conditions that he excels. Thus if a mile and a half, or in fact any distance from a furlong up to a hundred leagues, has to be covered under racing weights in the minimum number of minutes and seconds, then we believe there is no horse in the world that can compete with the English thoroughbred. Similarly, if a portly squire or parson, riding, let us say, from twelve to eighteen stone, has to be carried at speed over gates and brooks, and through ploughed fields, where is the horse that can do that like the English hunter? The race-horse, as is well known, must be *forced* in various ways, from the day he is foaled, or even before it, in order to enable him to develop his peculiar excellences while still immature. So in a lesser degree must the hunter; and indeed if the latter can perform his special task once in every four or five days, it is as much as is usually expected of him; and he is permitted to spend the rest of his time looking out of the window of his box with the best of attendance, food, and clothing all provided for him.

But take a horse of either of the above classes away from the Turf or the hunting-field, and away from his bran-mashes, tonick and flannel bandages; and picquet him on an open plain in an enemy's country; and see how much, or how little, of his excellence will be recognisable when. As long as the Commissariat Department flourished, and the base of operations was not left too far behind, he might do well enough. But when in the course of the operations a position at a distance from water had to be taken up, and rations grew poor and scanty, then the 'high-mettled courser, would be something else than mortal if, after

the way he had been pampered all his life before—the chill taken off his water when the thermometer approached zero, and so forth—he failed to fly to pieces, as it is called, and grew less useful, not to say excellent for any purpose whatever, than a mule or a donkey. Not only is this view supported *a priori* by some of the best established principles of physiological science, but it is borne out by a good deal of dear-bought experience as well—witness for example the fate of so many of our troop-horses in the Crimea.

That no horses fit to endure the hardships of a campaign are bred in England, Scotland or Ireland we should be sorry indeed to allege. But we maintain that even there it is exactly in proportion as the principles followed by breeders of first-class blood stock are, through necessity or the force of circumstances, departed from, and horses are reared, as round the steading of the Irish peasant farmer, under privation and occasional abstinence, that animals capable of standing the ups and downs of warfare are most likely to be produced. If the able and energetic officers to whom the management of our Indian studs is entrusted were to be asked whether their horses are brought up on the principles in vogue in the thorough-bred forcing establishments of England, or after the method of the squireens and horse-breeders of the sister island, they might possibly answer that both systems have been tried by them. Colts raised in the Government paddocks would perhaps be referred to as bred more or less after the former model; while those reared by zemindars, under the auspices of the Stud officers and with the services of Stud sires, would be pointed to as results of the natural system. But then, in order to give success to a natural system, certain conditions of climate, soil, pasturage, and population must all combine to favour it. Such conditions are probably nowhere to be met with in the valley of the Ganges. Hence we suspect that the forcing system of old England which, as an artificial process, can be carried out almost anywhere provided the breeder's purse is long enough to stand it, has in point of fact become the basis of the interior economy of our Government studs, as the only means by which horses adapted even in exterior form for military purposes could be turned out. Here then the palpable fallacy stands revealed. The English racer and hunter are the most excellent of *their kind and for their specific purposes*, in all the world; they are bred on certain principles, and by certain methods; therefore, the same principles and methods have only to be followed, in order to the production of horses excellent *for war*.

Whether or not a fallacy like that just stated has really been inherent in stud operations, as carried out by the Indian Government, is a point which we shall leave to others to determine. But we

suppose it may be taken for granted, in writing chiefly for Indian readers, that the produce of our Indian studs, though better than many would declare, has not, on the whole, proved eminently suitable for military purposes, beyond the pale, at least, of the peaceful parade-ground. Dismissing, therefore, the Indian stud-bred as an animal in no way qualified to point the moral of our present article, save perhaps in a negative manner, let us proceed to examine the mode in which horses whose excellence in war is undisputed are bred and reared in some of the countries where they occur. The first general position which we have to take up in approaching such an inquiry is this: Wherever predatory tribes have maintained with the help of the horse an arduous and precarious existence, there has that animal always been found in his very highest form of perfection, relatively to the qualities required by the soldier and the traveller.

In proceeding to illustrate the above statement, we are surely bound to begin with the horse which stands *facile princeps* on the muster-roll of those excellent in war, namely, the desert Arab, or horse of the *Bedouin*. Much that is purely fabulous has, we are aware, been written in praise of this wonderful little horse. Poetry, superstition, and enthusiasm have all assisted in inventing for him an imaginary origin and investing him with not less imaginary virtues. His superiority has been attributed to one apocryphal source after another. A pedigree drawn in unbroken descent from those mares of passing beauty whose eyes the Prophet Muhammad loved to anoint with antimony is the secret of all his virtues, say some. Nurture on dates and camels' milk, and the pure air of the boundless desert, and spells and amulets hung round his neck when he is a colt, are what work the charm, say others. But leaving the domain of poetry and fiction on one side, and deeming all proof unnecessary in a Review like ours that the desert Arab really possesses incomparable virtue as an endurer of hardship and master of abstinence, let us now see how this particular form of excellence, this fortitude and *robur* has been developed in him.

Burckhardt's Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabees, which we have placed first on the list of works at the head of this article, possess a peculiar value. Their indefatigable collector, a German traveller whose patronymic we wish Dr. Hunter would transliterate, was no bookmaker, but an explorer pure and simple; and the contents of his note-books were not given to the world until after his death. He seems to have had no specialty for horseflesh any more than his successor in the same fields, the brilliant Mr. Palgrave, had. Nor did he even feel himself, as the latter obviously did, under the necessity of indulging in rhapsodies about horses, so that his volume might be the more accept-

able to Englishmen. During the whole of his adventurous journeyings, Paternoster Row in fact was not in all his thoughts. Nevertheless he jotted down what he observed about the horses of the country, as about other topics; and here are some of his records on the former subject. A reference to the book itself will amply reward our readers; as we do not aim at extracting more than what serves to illustrate the true genesis of the Desert Horse.

"Among the Aneezahs," says Burckhardt, "the usual method of rearing the colts is this:—The Arab who brings a colt of two or three years to the market in Syria swears that the colt has never tasted any food but camel's milk. This is a palpable falsehood; because the Arab colts in the Syrian desert are never fed exclusively on milk, beyond the first four months. The Najd Arabs, on the contrary, give neither barley nor wheat to their horses; which feed upon the herbs of the desert, and drink plenty of camel's milk, and are besides nourished with a paste of dates and water. To a favourite horse the Najd Arab, and sometimes an Aneezah, gives the fragments or leavings of his own meals. * * * During the whole year, the Arabs keep their horses in the open air: I never saw one, even in the rainy season, tied up under the tent of its owner, as may frequently be observed among the Turkemans. The Arab horse, like its master, is accustomed to the inclemency of all seasons; and, with very little attention to its health, is seldom ill. The Arabs never clean or rub their horses. * * * From the time that a colt is first mounted (which is after its second year) the saddle is but seldom taken off its back; in winter time a sack-cloth is thrown over the saddle; in summer the horse stands exposed to the midday sun. * * * The best pasturing places of Arabia not only produce the greatest number of horses, but likewise the finest and most select race. The best are found in Najd; on the Euphrates; and in the Syrian deserts; while in the southern parts of Arabia, and particularly in Yeman, no good breed exist but those which have been imported from the north. * * * It would be erroneous to suppose that the horses of the noble breed are all of the most perfect or distinguished quality and beauty. Among the descendants of the famous horse Eclipse, may be found mere hacks; and I have seen many horses of the noble breed that had little more to recommend them than their name; although the power of bearing considerable fatigue seems common to all of the Desert race."

So much for Burckhardt. Thus a far higher authority where horseflesh is concerned, the French General Daumas, whose work on the horses of the great African desert, or rather an English translation of it, will be found among those cited on our list:—

• "The nature of the horses of the Sahara is a consequence of the life led by their masters. The Saharenes are obliged to accustom their horses to support hunger, through the scarcity of food; and likewise thirst, through the scarcity of water, which is frequently not to be found within a couple of days' march of the encampment. Endurance of fatigue, and speed are the result of the countless quarrels of these Arabs, their incessant hostile excursions, and their fondness for the chase of the swiftest animals, such as the ostrich, the gazelle, and the wild ass, which some among them hunt the whole year round without interruption."

In a letter from the once famous Ameer Abd-ul-Kadir to his friend the General, we find the following passages:—

"Know that when we were established at the mouth of the Melonia, we used to make raids; * * * on the day of attack pushing forward at the gallop for five or six hours at a stretch;—the entire expedition, going and returning, being completed in twenty to twenty-five days at the outside. During this space of time our horses had no barley except what they carried with them, about enough for eight ordinary feeds. Nor did they find straw or anything except the *alpa* and *shiehh*, and grass in the springtime. And yet on rejoining our people, we performed the fantasia on our horses; and some among us burned powder. Many too who were not fresh enough for the latter exercise, were quite able to go upon an expedition. Our horses would go a day or two without water, and once they found none for three days. The horses of the Sahara do far more than that, for they go three months without touching a grain of barley. * * * In certain years the horses of the Sahara have gone the whole twelve months without a grain of barley to eat, especially when the tribes have not been suffered to enter the Tell."

The extract to be quoted next from the same work may not be relevant to the special qualities in the Arab horse which we are chiefly now dealing with, namely, abstinence and the power of working, and being 'jolly' like Mark Tapley, under difficulties. But it accounts so thoroughly, and at the same time so pleasantly, for certain other virtues conspicuous in the same race, that we cannot refrain from transferring it to our pages:

"The Arabs," writes the French General, "desire to find in their horse a devoted friend. With them he leads, so to speak, a domesticated life, in which, as in all domestic life, women play a conspicuous part—that in fact, of preparing by their gentleness, vigilance, and unceasing attention, the solidarity that ought to exist between the man and the animal. On a journey, or a campaign, far from the dwelling-place, it is the rider who occupies himself with his horse. But at the encampment, under canvas, and in time of repose, it is the wife who directs, superintends, and feeds the noble

companion in arms; who so frequently augments the reputation of her husband, while supplying the wants of her children. In the morning it is the wife who brings him his food and tends him, and if possible washes his mane and tail. * * * She caresses him, passes her hand gently over his neck and face, and gives him bread or dates, or even meat cooked and dried in the sun. "Eat O my son," she says to him in a soft and tender tone; "one day thou shalt save us out of the hand of our enemies, and fill our tent with booty." It is in the morning also that the Arab wife goes forth to the pastures to gather for the animal she cherishes an ample supply of herbs esteemed in the desert for their tonic and nutritive properties. * * * In the afternoon, a little later or a little earlier according to the season, the wife employs herself in leading the horses to water, if the fountain be not too far distant; and in that case she goes herself to fetch the water in goat-skin bags. When water fails entirely, she gives them ewe's or camel's milk. * * * These everyday attentions and kindnesses, as we have already remarked, and cannot too often repeat, render the horses gentle and affectionate. They neigh with pleasure at the approach of her who tends them; and, as soon as they see her, turn their heads gracefully towards her. They go up to her; and she lays hold of them whenever it pleases her; and if any one expresses surprise, she will reply with perfect simplicity,—“How can you suppose that our mares will not recognise the hand that caresses and feeds them?”

• Happy the women who have such innocent employments as these; and thrice happy the horses who are so attended. The old Homeric picture of Andromache feeding Hector's charger with her own hand is brought vividly before us as we read the passage just quoted; and it is felt that a fuller or more satisfactory explanation of the amiable qualities of the Arabian horse could not possibly be afforded.

The only other extract to be made from Daumas' book is one not to be found in the English version from which the above passages have been copied; though occurring in the French original; from which it is translated in the following words by Mr. Barr, at page 86 of his own excellent treatise on “Pure Saddle horses.”

The testimony of the Khuleefah of Mekjána, chief of one of the most illustrious families of Algeria, regarding the mode in which the Arab horse should be reared, if ever he is to prove valuable for military purposes, is thus quoted in his own book by General Daumas:

“During my long career,” says the chief, “I have seen reared by my tribe, friends, and servants, more than 2,000 colts; and I affirm that all those whose breaking was not begun early have

* always turned out intractable, disagreeable, and useless for war. I further affirm that, when I have made long and rapid marches at the head of 1,200 or 1,500 horsemen, the horses without fat, thin even, but early used to fatigue, have always stuck to my standard; while those which were fat, but had not been broken whilst young, were always left behind. My conviction on this head is the result of such full experience, that when lately at Cairo, and requiring to purchase some horses, I refused without pity all such as were offered to me that had not been early broken.

'How has thy horse been brought up' was always my first question.

'Sir,' replied an inhabitant of a town, 'this horse has always been reared like one of my own children, well fed, well looked after, and not overworked, for I did not mount him till he was four off. See how fat he is, and how clean his legs.

'Very well, my friend, keep him; he is thy pride, and that of thy family; it would be a shame to my grey hairs to deprive thee of him.

'And thou' said I turning to one whom I knew, so dark and sunburnt was he, to be a child of the desert, 'how has thy horse been reared?'

'Sir,' said he, 'early I accustomed his back to the saddle, and his mouth to the bit; with him I have often fallen on my foe, who dwelt far, very far, off; many are the days he has passed without water, and nights without food; his ribs in truth are bare; but, if you are waylaid on the road, he will not leave you in trouble.'

'Picket the grey before my tent,' I would say to my servants, 'and satisfy this man.'

Quotations and illustrations might be indefinitely multiplied without, perhaps, making our present line of argument any clearer or stronger than it has been made, we trust, by the simple and self-evident statement already extracted from the pages of General Daumas; namely, that the nature of the desert horse is a consequence of the life led by its masters. He is the horse of free-booters and banditti; whose country, moreover, happens to possess exactly those conditions of climate most favourable to the development of the qualities essential in their steeds. From his youth upward, his life has been one of hardship and privation. And hence when we expose him in our own campaigns to trials generally far less severe than those he has been familiar with ever since he was a colt, he is found thoroughly in his element. Abstinence, it has to be noted, is a virtue which is created by circumstances, and grows by being cultivated, just as indulgence does. And there is not a more marked difference between the desert steed and the English thoroughbred in this

respect, than between the *Bedouin* Shaikh and the London alderman.

So much space has been occupied in illustrating the manner in which, as we conceive, the excellence of the desert Arab for military purposes is produced, that we shall touch more cursorily on what must be considered as forming an integral part of the same view, namely, that horses at least resembling the Arab in the qualities required for war are met with in other countries too which are peopled by predatory races. It is very manifest, however, that such is actually the case. When our own splendid troop-horses were dying in scores at their pickets in the Crimea, the rough little steeds which carried the Cossack cavalry of the Russians were evidently as effective as ever. Not to look quite so far away, the robber tribes of Biluchistan are only a few degrees less remarkable than their *Bedouin* congeners for the hardihood and vigour of the horses they breed. Railways are now beginning to carry the robbers of India, just as they do the Dick Turpins and Claude Duvals of our own country; and the Rahtur Jamadar who has looted a village has but to catch the night mail at the nearest station, and get whirled away into the heart of a native State at a pace his father's fleetest mare or camel could never have equalled. But for all that, a breed of horses lingers, or till lately lingered among the Rahturs of Central and Western India, inferior to the Arab both in speed and beauty, but not in the power of enduring hardships, or making forced marches on scanty commons. The Wollo-Gallas in Abyssinia were found mounted upon a little horse as hardy in all respects as any Arab, and accustomed to pick up its living as it could from the grass plains of the country, without ever tasting grain. The superiority of the famous Mahratta cavalry towards the end of the last and the beginning of the present century forms another case in point. The nags which carried these hardy horsemen were reared much as those of the *Bedouins* are, that is, amid a life of perpetual movement and warfare; and the qualities developed in them were consequently similar in kind, if, perhaps, inferior in degree. The prowess of the free lances whom they bore so frequently to victory and plunder is recorded in the history of the time; and the good people of Calcutta itself, as will not be forgotten, were fain to encompass the palaces with a ditch, as a defence against their formidable forays.

Next to predatory tribes, it is among pastoral and agricultural communities that horses suitable for warfare are reared. Our foregoing remarks on the Arab horse had reference, we beg our readers to understand, purely to the horse of the *Baddoo* or *wandering* Arab whose dwelling is the tent, of camel's hair; and who looks down upon all who sow and reap with feelings akin to those entertained of old on the same subject by the warlike clans of the Scot-

tish Highlands. The inhabitants of Arabia and Syria, exclusive of the heterogeneous masses which people such cities as Aleppo and Damascus, seem broadly divisible into two great classes, according as they are predatory, or peaceful roammers for ever of the desert, or at least occasional denizens of villages and towns. The former alone are the true *Bedouin*, and comprise an endless number of septs. The latter consists of numerous mixed pastoral and agricultural tribes; which form a connecting link between the *Bedouin* on the one hand, and the *Fellaheen*, or fixed Arab peasantry of the villages, on the other. The *Bedouin* tribes have all certain marked characteristics in common. All alike spend their lives in wandering with their studs, flocks, and camels from one pasturage to another; approaching at certain seasons the vicinity of cities; but never exchanging their black tents for more substantial habitations. Their chief care seems to consist now in defending their live-stock against the attacks of hostile tribes, now in adding to it by means of similar raids on their own account. As often as two tribes not related by the ties of friendship approach within reach of one another, a descent is apt to be made by the horsemen of the one on the flocks and herds of the other, as they graze at some distance from the tents. Animosity has little to do with the proceeding, plunder or the possession of some disputed pasture being the great object. No sooner are the cattle 'lifted' by the assailants, than an alarm is sure to be raised in the camp of their owners; and a cloud of well-mounted spearmen is soon in full pursuit: even when an encounter follows, the loss of life occurring in the *mêlée* is, we are assured, surprisingly small. Both sides soon discover when discretion has become the better part of valour; and after a few minutes of wild confusion, the spoil is either rescued or allowed to be driven off in peace. One often sees in the Bombay stables an Arab bearing an obvious mark on his neck or chest of a spearthrust received during a scene such as we are now describing; and there can be no surer proof that such animal, whether well bred or badly bred, is at all events a desert horse, and likely to rough it well on a campaign.

It is quite certain, however, that of the horses familiar to us as Arabs, only a comparatively small number have ever had the home by the tent of a *Buddoo* or taken part in the forays of the desert. Probably we are within the mark in saying, that three-fourths of the total number of horses landed in India from Arabia, in the course of every year have been bred either by peaceful tribes, such as those of Irak and Khurdistan, or by the inhabitants of the villages themselves. That even these are good horses it is superfluous to mention; since it is chiefly on the prowess displayed by this very stamp of horse when entertained in the service of the Indian

Government that the high reputation borne by the Arab horse in general is based. Very often they are of excellent blood, having been purchased as colts from some tribe of the *Bedouin*, worked as two and three year olds by their pastoral or agricultural owners; and then sold to the middlemen who cater for the India market. Their upbringing has been much after the fashion in which horses are reared to this day by landholders in a few districts of the Deccan. That is to say, they have had the run of the grazing round about the village, or encampment at the very least; and have probably managed to pick up more barley in the course of the year than the *Baddoo* can usually find for the equine sharer of his own rougher and harder life. Therefore such horses often grow into very fine animals; especially such as have fallen into the hands of some well-to-do owner, or village chief. In fact a desert born colt that had been sold young to an Arab of the latter class would have every chance of growing perhaps even a hand higher than if he had been left to come to maturity among the tents of camel's hair. To an uneducated eye, he would very probably seem a superior and much improved animal in every respect by the side of his desert brother. But when it came to the 'straight run-in' of a two mile race, and whips were sounding and spurs at work; or when the marches grew long, and the forage scarce; then the soft spot in the village-bred one would be discovered; and the little fellow from the desert, if there chanced to be one in the race or in the regiment, would shine out in all his pre-eminence. So thoroughly established is the excellence of the desert as compared with the more domesticated kinds of the Arab horse, that in selecting Arabs for Turf purposes, it is thought among the first essentials to pick one that has been all his life in the desert. If a mistake is made on this point, and a great upstanding flash horse, of good blood perhaps, but pastoral or village nurture, is drafted into the string, he usually deteriorates instead of improving, when passed through the crucible of the trainer; and even if he come to the post, a faint or craven heart often prevents his using his turn of speed, however superior that may be. Many a long face have turfites had to pull on settling-day, in consequence of disappointments brought about in this way. For parade purposes, however, as well as for those of actual warfare itself, the horse we are referring to is not easily to be surpassed. Even if bred in a village, his life has not been all barley and succulent grasses. Most probably he has had his share of fasting too; and he has certainly been doing something for his living ever since he was two years old. Therefore when subjected to the ordeal of our campaigns, he acquits himself with all the credit which has made the Arab horse famous in our annals.

Horses bred by some of the agricultural communities of India itself could hardly be excelled in power of roughing it. Look for instance at that wonderful specimen of the equine race, the common Deccan pony, now unhappily getting rarer and rarer every year. In him we see a perfect compendium of all the qualities required in a campaigner. Twenty, or even thirty miles a day, for weeks on end, will he cheerfully travel over, under his couple of panniers; indifferent in the main whether his back is sore or sound; and keeping his condition on the coarsest fare. The well-clothed and long-priced charger may be coughing his heart out under the lee of the tent wall; but the stout little baggager, with no covering save his own rough coat, is rarely sick, and never sorry. After the longest day's march ten minutes to himself is all he requires. He has a few hearty rolls; and a fight if possible with one of his companions; and then he is ready to start afresh. When the campaign is over, and he returns to quarters, and has a few weeks' rest, he frequently turns out a different animal altogether; and if, as is often the case, he has a dash of good blood in him, no one is surprised to see the straight-riding subaltern who owns him taking a first spear off his back. If we could but add a hand or two to his stature, causing him of course to develop all over in like proportion, then what could not a regiment mounted on such horses accomplish? And yet the little fellow never saw the inside of a paddock or stable for all his days. Foaled most likely on the common, outside the village, he was left during the first year or two of his life to hobble about with fettered limbs; acquiring plenty of hardihood and independence, but not always very much grass, by the waysides. At two year old, he may have begun to carry his master to the weekly market; bringing burdens home again on his back. Not a handful of corn is he likely ever to have tasted; so that when he was sold as a four year old, for forty or fifty rupees to some officer in the nearest cantonment, every penny of his price represented so much clear profit to the villager who bred him. Up to that point, his life a good deal resembled that of the horses bred by the peasantry of Syria and Arabia, only rougher and poorer by far. The latter of course are his superiors in many respects, chiefly because of their higher breeding.

But if the question be reduced to one of hardihood under the vicissitudes of a campaign, we doubt if even the war-born *Badloo* himself can be deemed the superior of the ponies bred on the banks of the Bhima and Tapti.

Passing over the Persian horse as an animal reared much after the same fashion as the commoner kinds of Arab, the Cape horse perhaps merits being mentioned next in the order of excellence, relatively to military purposes. And this too is the horse of an

agricultural community. That is to say, he is not bred under any form of forging system whatever; but is first what the natural conditions of the country where he is reared, in conjunction with the mode of life followed by his breeders, tend to make him.

In the *Oriental Sporting Magazine* for April 1870, our readers will find an article on 'Remounts for India'; bearing the well-known *nom-de-plume* of 'Pilgrim,' and written from Cape Town. Most of us know that on all questions relating to horse flesh 'Pilgrim's' authority ranks among the highest; and here is how he accounts for the good qualities recognised by himself and most other competent judges in the horses bred at the Cape of Good Hope.

"The Cape horse has proved himself equal to any emergency. The sun does not prostrate him: neither is he very particular about his board and lodging. Why there should be such a difference in this respect between the Capes and the Walers, seeing that they are reared under almost similar conditions of climate, it is hard to say. Probably the chief reason is that the Cape horse is a better bred one than the Waler. * * * Perhaps there may be something in the different feeding and management of the colts in Australia and at the Cape. *Ours are never sheltered and are often half starved.* There are no trees or hedgerows to afford protection against the summer sun, or the chilling blasts and driving rains of winter. But we hear of Australian scrub and bush, where the horses and cattle take refuge from the heat and inclement weather; and if this accommodation prevails throughout the horse-breeding districts of that colony, it may account in some measure for the impatience of climate manifested by the Waler in India."

It is no part of our object, in quoting the above passage, to cry up the Cape horse at the expense of the Waler. We do not know whether the superiority which 'Pilgrim' assigns to the former, as compared with the latter, is fully borne out by facts or not. All we are concerned with is to adduce the recognition by such an undoubted authority as 'Pilgrim's' of the principles we are now contending for, namely, that it is hardship, not forcing, occasional licence, not coddling, that produces a horse fit for soldiers the world over.

Mr. Carr's essay on 'Pure Saddle-horses' should be studied by every one interested in breeding. The book was published at Melbourne; which may help to account for its not being so widely known as many works of far less value. To follow Mr. Carr over all the ground traversed by him would be beyond the scope of this paper. A man of much travel, varied experience, and acute power of observation, he has passed in review nearly every equine form to be met with in the known world, in order to

illustrate the conclusions which he has arrived at on the subject before him. It is with reference, however, merely to the horse of his own adopted country, Australia, that we have turned to his pages, and propose citing him as a witness. It will be seen how largely the view which it is one of the objects of this article to enforce enters into his whole theory of horse-breeding; and how thoroughly he recognises the fact that, if a horse is ever to shine as a campaigner, he must be *to the manner born*, that is, inured as a colt to somewhat analogous conditions of life. That we may have the full benefit of the opinions of so high an authority as Mr. Carr in support of the views which are now being developed, it may be as well to mention that those views were formed altogether independently of the Australian's admirable treatise, having been acquired in fact direct from the fountain-head; that is, in the course of much direct and indirect intercourse with those who are *par. excellence* the breeders of horses pre-eminent in war, namely, the unkempt denizens of Syria and Arabia.

In what is now to be said of the Australian horse we should mention that we have no concern with horses for the Turf of the Colony. These are, to all intents, English race-horses. The closer their early nurture can be fashioned after the Middle Park model, the more excellent are they likely to prove, where mere contests of speed are concerned. Already they command prices varying from three hundred to three thousand guineas. Some of their admirers confidently look forward to a Sydney or Melbourne crack winning one day, like 'Gladiator,' the blue ribbon of the English Turf itself at Epsom. This anticipation we hardly share; and refer to it merely to show that horses of such high merits and pretensions must not be confounded with those commoner and, from a turfite's point of view, inferior kinds of horse from which alone Walers for military purposes can be drawn.

The point in which Mr. Carr considers horses of the latter description specially to excel is "*their great capacity for work as compared to their figure.*"

In illustrating this, he writes as follows:—

"I feel no hesitation in saying that if an English horse in England, for instance, was found on trial to perform say thirty miles a day for a fortnight, with stable-feed, as the maximum of his capabilities, an Australian horse of exactly the same figure and breeding, with no other feed than grass, would certainly perform forty-five miles a day for the same period. This superior stoutness of the Australian horse, according to his figure, as compared with the English horse, is pretty generally acknowledged by those who have had experience of the horses of the two countries. Thus, a hundred miles, on an emergency, are frequently being done in Australia, by very miserable looking 'Rosinantes'

in fifteen hours, without preparation, and off grass. Eighty miles consecutively, and seventy miles three or four days following, are constantly being done in the routine of business, in like manner. I myself have done these things and more.

"In a journey of 400 miles, which I have several times had to perform, I have started with two fat horses unused to work, riding one and leading the other with a small pack on his back, changing the saddle occasionally from one to the other. The 400 miles were always accomplished without trouble in eight days; and after three days' rest the horses were quite fit to return at the same speed. My business, however, usually detained me from a week to a fortnight in town; when I returned as I came; always doing the last fifty miles by one o'clock A.M., and turning out my horses somewhat weary, but with plenty of fat and flesh about them, ready to repeat the same journey after a week's rest. At night they were hobbled out, usually on very scanty grass, and never tasted artificial feed of any sort. * * * The grass for the first 250 miles was excessively scarce, much more so than is ever known in Victoria, for instance. These I give as instance of ordinary work on fair horses. * * * I rode 13½ stone on these occasions; and could have done 100 miles the last day in fifteen hours, had I desired it."

• There is this to be said in connection with the horses that can do the amount of work described in the above passage, namely, that when brought to India, and even when treated there to what is to them an unknown luxury, regular feeds of corn, they could not go through anything like the same amount of exertion without falling away deplorably in condition and becoming in fact knocked up. Deprivation of water alone has in India the most trying effects upon them, which may be due to their never having been inured in their own country to thirst. But it is chiefly owing, we suppose, to the effects of this climate upon their stamina that they cannot do in India anything like the same work that they can in Australia; while the corn we are obliged to give them here seems not to afford an equal degree of support to their power of labour and endurance as the nutritious grasses of their native domains are found to do. Nevertheless the Waler is a valuable description of remount. The breeders of the Colony are beginning more and more to realize the fact that it is blood and bone, not ill-assorted masses of flesh, that fit a horse to carry a man in heavy marching order; and that the grand essential in every horse intended to work in the tropics is copious infusion of pure blood. This pure blood again they are beginning to import more than ever from where it is certainly to be found in its truest and most valuable form, namely, the Arabian deserts. And we shall be much surprised if the character of the remounts con-

signed to the Indian market from Australia does not go on improving every year. The Australian horse, like the Arab and Cape, and the Deccan pony, is at all events a natural, not an artificial product. That is, he owes his qualities, such as they are, to the conditions of life amid which he is bred; and comes to maturity, for the most part, not on the expensive luxuries of forcing establishments or stud-farms managed on English principles, but chiefly on the grasses which he can pick up for himself on Nature's own bountiful bosom. Hence he costs his breeder next to nothing; and the price obtained for him as a four year old, trifling as it is, is nearly all profit; especially if he is sold unbroken, which however when our Australian friends come to discover their own interests in this matter they will never in a single instance suffer to occur. Mere exercise the Australian colts doubtless bestow upon themselves in abundance, as they rush in vast phalanxes at the freedom of their own unbridled impulses over their native prairies. But not until a horse has learned to submit his will to man's and discovered moreover that man is both his master and his protector, can he be said to have made any progress towards acquiring that great quality, resignation, which shines forth so conspicuously in the Arab horse, and which can never be fully imparted save during early colt-hood.

It is now high time we were sounding the *audi quo rem deducam* of old Horace; and laying before our readers the results which we conceive to be indicated by the facts collected together in the foregoing portion of this article.

Our first general conclusion, then, may be thus stated. If it be considered established that it is among predatory and equestrian tribes that the horse reaches his highest form of excellence, relatively to military purposes; and that, next to predatory, it is among certain pastoral and pastoro-agricultural, peoples that similar qualities are developed in him, the most thorough measures that can be devised should surely be instituted with the view of attracting to our markets the largest possible supply of horses of those descriptions from the countries where they are bred. Civilization cannot fail to exercise in India, as elsewhere, its natural influence in determining the character of the imports and exports that enter or leave its harbours. If London or Liverpool had never been founded, we might to this day, perhaps, have been trapping on their sites wild animals to yield us the furs which, as matters stand, we are fain to import from Siberia or Hudson's Bay. But Englishmen do not generally grumble on this score. They are on the contrary well content to import not only their furs, but even a very large portion of the bread-stuffs which are required to feed the inhabitants of those great centres of prosperity and riches. And we are under the very same necessity

as regards horses. Now that we have succeeded in beating every predatory tribe save ourselves clean off the surface of Hindustan, we must needs submit, if we require the services of such horses as such tribes alone can rear, to import our remounts from countries to which the reign of order has not yet extended. To look for a horse like that of the desert Shaikh among the zemindars of Lower Bengal, is even more absurd than if we should expect to find a breed of keen-nosed lurchers distributed among the parochial clergy of England, or a race of nags like Dandie Dinmont's famous 'Dumple' among the tailors of Edinburgh or Glasgow.

At this point the question arises whether it would not be better for Government to send its own agents to Australia and Arabia for the purpose of buying horses, than trust to our markets being supplied by the dealers themselves. The former system we believe to be as unsound in theory as it has been proved to be difficult and precarious in practice. The principal objections to it are thus stated by one of the wisest soldiers and administrators who ever served in India; namely, the late Brigadier-General John Jacob; whose remarks on the subject are recorded as follows in the posthumous work noted at the head of our article:—

"It seems to me that if Government sends its own agents to purchase horses, whether in Turkish Arabia or elsewhere, it would by this direct and sudden interference with the usual channels of the trade, tend to lessen the supply passing through these channels, without causing an equivalent increase of supply through the extraordinary channel. The presence of the Government agents in the horse-breeding districts would of course disturb and injure the market for horses at Bombay and other places. The prices of horses would immediately be raised in the districts themselves. And experience proves that the employment of Government agency in business of this description is almost invariably attended with so much difficulty and delay as would render the purchase of the horses useless in so far as immediate service in India is concerned. * * * The general result of Government's direct appearance in the market would, in this as in all other markets, be to disturb the common market, to lessen and delay the total supply, and to enhance prices."

The only circumstances in which we would not deem the above principles fully applicable are when Government has occasion to purchase horses or mares for stud purposes. Even when such purchases have to be made in England itself, we think the Indian Government would do well not to trust to contractors, but to send its own officer, or officers, into the market to buy. Still more necessary is it to do this when Arabian sires are required. A special agent should then be sent to Syria for the purpose of selecting and purchasing the horses. "From all that has come to my

"knowledge," says Burkhardt, "on the very best authority, I have no hesitation in saying that the finest race of Arabian blood-horses may be found in Syria; and that of all the Syrian districts, the most excellent in this respect is the Haurān; where the horses may be purchased at first cost and chosen among the camps of the Arabs themselves, who occupy the plains in spring time * * * It might, perhaps, be advisable for the great European powers to have persons properly qualified employed in purchasing horses for them in Syria, as the best mode of crossing and ennobling their own studs. Damascus would be the best position for the establishment of such persons."

Native, that is, Arab agency is the one most likely to succeed in carrying out a mission like the above; provided a man could be found not only possessed of sufficient integrity, but accustomed to set store by the *points* or conformation of a horse, instead of resting satisfied, as the untutored Arab does, merely with pure blood. Arabian horses of the true blue blood, such as are alone adapted for breeding purposes, can never, except by some accident, come to India through the ordinary channel of the trade. In the desert itself indeed, even when broken down, such horses cost from £150 to £300. On one occasion, when a horse of this class, having been sold in Arabia either through oversight or fraud, found his way to Bombay, where he was purchased by a well-known turfite of the period, a special messenger was sent to redeem him and carry him back to his native country, as soon as the mistake was discovered. This was easily effected; and the highly prized sire returned to Arabia. It is a common delusion that the Arabs won't sell their best horses. Their chiefs and rich men, it is true, may often possess certain particular favourites, which even a very long price would not tempt them to part with just at the time when a purchaser happens to be in the field. Neither are first class animals commonly carried to market, or publicly offered for sale; because every horse thus treated, and not sold, would be thought very little of by its master's tribe ever afterwards. But piastres and patience together will have their way among the Arabs, just as all the world over; and if really reliable and skilled emissaries could only be found for deputation on such a duty, we believe the Indian Government would have little difficulty in importing from Arabia itself as many horses, or even mares, of pure blood as they would be likely to require. It is a mistake to suppose that the Arabians which carry off the honours of the Indian Turf are, as a rule, of pure blood, or such as the Arabs themselves would send their mares to. Full of good blood they undoubtedly are. But with some exceptions, which have not by the way always proved the most distinguished coursers, such horses, from a breeder's point of view, have been the merest cocktails. Yet these are the sires

which, when Arabs have been used at all in this manner in India or Australia, have been chiefly, for want of better, resorted to.

Harking back, however, after the above digression, to the subject raised in the memorandum by Brigadier General Jacob, from which we have already quoted, it is interesting to notice that the very suggestions which its author makes, further on in the same paper, with the view of a spontaneous flow of horses being determined towards the Indian market have, only the other day, been adopted by the Committee now at work on the Government studs: with this admirable addition that, not only has the promise been held out to dealers all the world over of a certain number of remounts being purchased from them at certain places in India every year, but liberal rewards, or prizes, have been offered for the best horses, or sets of horses, that may be brought by them to this country. The measure thus instituted is decidedly a step in the right direction; and can hardly fail, we think, to produce good fruit in time; provided it be not interfered with by remount agents; and the task of selecting horses be left as much as possible in the hands of officers commanding regiments and batteries. We never yet saw an Indian horse-market bestridden by a 'Colossus' in the form of a Government Remount Agent, without injurious consequences both to the interests of Government and to the market itself being perceptible. Not if a Colonel Thornhill or a Mr. Hallen could be secured for every one of these appointments, would we advocate their being revived. There seems little danger either of this being done, under the *régime* recently inaugurated. In the interests of the Madras army, it is much to be desired that all existing arrangements of this nature were about to be abolished. An official correspondence took place on the whole subject in Bombay, during Sir W. Mansfield's term of office as Commander-in-Chief of the army of that Presidency. His Excellency's reasons for condemning as he did the maintenance of local agencies such as those now referred to, were published in July 1863, among the Proceedings of the Bombay Government; and appeared to us then, as they do now, to be clear and conclusive.

In addition to the admirable means already used, at the instance of the present Stud Committee, towards inducing the horse-breeders of other countries to bring their young stock to the Indian market, it is worth while enquiring how far the Turf admits of being utilized for the promotion of the same end. Speaking of the Indian Turf generally as it now presents itself to the view, we cannot say that any very marked connection is apparent between its interests and belongings on the one hand, and the prevalence of horses of the *useful classes* in the dealers' stables on the other. Most of its prizes are won by Australian geldings;

some of which, though worth, perhaps, five hundred sovereigns for racing purposes, would not be found worth as many rupees if apprenticed to any honest calling. A certain limited number of English mares and stallions, it is true, are annually landed at Calcutta, in the hope of their being able to win a race. What with the climate and their own acquired or inherited infirmities, this is more than they can always achieve. They themselves, of course, are useless as remounts, and we confess we doubt the extent of the benefits they confer on the local horse supply, even when they have the luck to get drafted into the stud. At all events it is a poor service for the local Turf to render, to attract debilitated and prematurely used-up animals of this stamp to our shores. It would probably be better for Government to import its own stud horses and mares from England or Arabia direct, than trust to the stranded wrecks of a third-class Turf passing occasionally into their possession for breeding purposes.

The only way, or at all events the most marked way, in which we have ever in this country seen the Turf contributing to augment the supply of useful horses was under the old *régime* at Byculla, when the principal races advertised in the annual prospectus were for Arab horses only. The importation of horses of this description certainly received a powerful stimulus in consequence. The old '*Dealers' Plate*' for example, with its sixty or seventy horses entered, used to be worth at least a thousand pounds without any betting. Almost every Arab that landed in Bombay in the course of the season was looked on by some fond admirer as a possible winner next year of this great stake. Although very often the destined winner would be bought, by a fluke, or in a lot for £50, yet good judges have sometimes paid as much as from £250 to £400 for a freshly landed horse whose blood and figure pointed him out as a racer. Hence, horses that had been bought a few weeks previously at Basra or Kohait by the Arab middlemen for £20, and which, even when landed in Bombay, were not really worth more than £50, save when regarded as so many tickets in a lottery, came to command prices which were highly remunerative to their importers, and tended in an equal measure to ensure the continued importation of Arab horses *via* the Persian Gulf to Bombay. This, we believe, and not merely the geographical position of Bombay relatively to Arabia, had much to say towards making the western capital the chief seat of the Arab horse-trade in India; as well as towards filling the ranks of the mounted branches of the Bombay army with Arab horses, and so contributing in no small degree to the efficiency and prestige of that army itself, throughout many a campaign, and on many a hard-fought field. No doubt the favour shown to Arab horses by the framers of the Byculla and Poona

race-prospectuses had the effect of raising the value of those Arabs, during their first season at least, to a fictitious sum. But then, had it not been for that, perhaps not above one-half of the large, well-bred, weight-carrying Arabs that were landed at Bombay in the course of every season would ever have left Basra. On the whole, therefore, we are disposed to think that the policy by which the Bombay Turf was, and to some extent still is made to replenish the local horse-market with remounts of great and acknowledged value, was a sound one; and one which might well be imitated throughout India generally. We would wish, indeed, to see some such system fostered, not only at the Presidency towns, but at the principal up-country stations as well. In former days, when dealers used to traverse India with their strings, a perennial flow of remounts was kept passing through many districts now quite cut off from all but distant sources of supply; and many is the good horse that has been picked fresh from a lot at Meerut, Benares, and Cawnpore. The railways have certainly changed the old order of things; and even if Queen's Plates for Arabs were instituted at ever so many mofussil stations, there would be some risk of the horses entered being taken straight to the scene of contest in horse-boxes. But for every horse that an Arab dealer enters for a race, he generally has half a dozen that he thinks merely of selling; and for the sake of disposing of these latter, he would probably call halt wherever he thought purchasers were to be found. If asked why we would make the Queen's Plates for Arabs only, and not for all horses suitable for military purposes, we would explain that by means of the former stipulation we would ensure every competitor being more or less suitable for those purposes, and avoid the heart-burnings which would inevitably attend the working of any proviso admitting other kinds of horses *when approved of*. Moreover, there can be no racing between Arabs and Walers, unless the latter are without any real pretensions to racing form. An Australian horse not worth a ten pound note for any other than Turf purposes, if worth anything at all for these, will stride clean away from such an Arab as a hog hunter or a man going on a campaign would do well to sell ever so much of his useless Government paper in order that he might make his own. In thus advocating the establishment of a number of 'Queen's Plates' at suitable centres for maiden Arabs only, we honestly believe we are indicating the most promising form which could be imported in this country to that modicum of State patronage which it seems to be one of the first principles of the British Constitution for the powers that be to bestow upon the Turf. Prizes offered for the best sets of horses landed at the Presidencies will work well as regards an intelligent class of men like the Colonial breeders. These mostly know the kinds of

remount that are wanted; and the results of the first few competitions for prizes will effectually teach such of them as do not. The Arab horse-dealers, on the contrary, have their own rooted ideas on matters of this nature. Spavines they look upon as wicked inventions of English vets. They see the Bombay turfites paying long prices for animals which a few short weeks ago, were carrying burdens of dates on their backs in Syria; and then risking thousands in settling which of their purchases is the fastest for two miles. This amounting in their eyes to little short of madness, they are the less prepared to learn anything on the subject of horse-flesh from those who do not believe in Muhammad. Their horses might be rejected by committee after committee for the most palpable defects. But they would set it all down to their *naseeb*, or else to their not having succeeded in bribing the presiding officer to their heart's content; and would go on importing their own stamp of animal to the end of the chapter. The Turf and its prizes are the only way we know of by which these dealers can be attracted in the largest possible numbers to Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta; for horses are supposed to gallop in all shapes; and the higher the prices that are obtainable, the brisker and better will the market grow. Therefore, we have no hesitation in saying, let a large share of our Viceroy's and Governors' Cups be for maiden Arabs only, landed in India in the course of the previous season; and then we predict each Presidency town, and not merely Bombay as heretofore, will soon become the centre of an Arab horse trade, such as it will be easy to send radiating all over the country. Neither will the racing itself deteriorate in quality owing to the change. A notable falling off will be witnessed no doubt in the matter of *time*. The Arabian is a saddle-horse, not a racer. Yet he is so honest and *game* and true, and sometimes develops moreover, after a long course of training, such a very considerable turn of speed, that few prettier contests are witnessed on our Indian Turf than when the flag has dropped in front of a field of Arabs. Men who look only at their stop-watches while a race is being run may be disappointed. But not they who love to look on horses racing.

The important question must now be considered, how far it is possible for the Indian Government to create for itself in the country an indigenous supply of horses such as it requires. A decree of the Turkish authorities has already, on one occasion, cut off India for two whole years from its supply of Arab horses. Sinister rumours reach us while we write that a similar embargo is again about to be laid on the same trade. We certainly never heard of any country refusing to avail herself while she might of a valuable import, merely because contingencies might one day arise to interfere with the continued enjoyment of it. And yet it is assuredly of

the utmost importance that the Government of India should do all in its power to foster some such source of horse-supply as shall be beyond all risk of such interruption. With this view, we presume, were the Indian studs originally established to a considerable extent they may be said to have answered their purpose as far as yielding a certain large number of horses from year to year can do so: though we believe at a most extravagant cost to the public treasury. In fact when a history is written of the numerous millstones hanged round the neck of the Indian Government which have prevented all the natural advantages of this country from leading to financial prosperity, if the Stud Department be pronounced a not very ponderous dead-weight, the reason can only be because of the enormous magnitude of some of the other encumbrances which will then be brought to light. Not by so much as one trooper of the Madras Light Cavalry could we find it in our hearts to see our military establishments reduced, so long as lakhs of rupees are being expended every year in the attempt to breed horses suitable for war in luxurious paddocks, and in the hot and humid atmosphere of Lower Bengal.

That it would be possible to obtain advantageous results by means of re-organizing and re-distributing the Bengal studs we do not doubt. If the effects of climate upon the horse in different parts of the globe were carefully scrutinized, and the breeding establishments were located exclusively in sites resembling as closely as possible in their climatic and other natural conditions, those localities in which hardy and valuable animals are known to be bred; and if at the same time a new system of rearing the stock, fashioned after the principles obtaining among the breeders of excellent saddle-horses in other countries, were introduced, then something might be accomplished. Instead of bad imitations of the English race-horse, Government might then even expect to turn out fair approximations to the commoner kinds of Arab, such as are bred by pastoral or agricultural communities on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. How to set about such an undertaking would need to form the subject of a great deal of study. The Indian Government might well be excused for keeping so knotty a problem "under consideration" as it is called, for even an unusual length of time. Supposing the question ever to be taken up, we would recommend a reference being made to Mr. Carr's book. Here, for example, are some of his conclusions on the all-important point of *climate*:—

- "That the horse, though of a very accommodating constitution, and of a very wide habitat, like all other animals is very materially influenced by the climate in which he exists. That a suitable one is as material to his perfection as is *blood* or *food*. That the horse most excels, in proportion to his size and figure

in a hot and dry climate * * * That his utility is various in various localities ; and corresponds to the fitness of the climate in which he lives. That in the hot and moist climate he sinks to the deepest debasement. That it is a fact—and one easy of verification—that every race of horses without exception which has acquired any celebrity in the saddle is either bred in a hot and dry climate, or traces its celebrity to strains of blood originally derived from such climates. * * * You cannot breed as bad a horse inch for inch in the Sahara, as on the fenny banks of the Hooghly. The dry climate of the Sahara invigorates the first, the damp climate at the mouth of the Ganges undermines and impoverishes the constitution of the other. The first will perform much more than the Englishman would anticipate from his figure ; the other, far less. In the one climate, he is stout, abstemious, mettlesome, and hardy, in proportion to his figure ; in the other, he is peevish, soft, washy, relaxed, and unenduring even in spite of a good figure. * * In the dry climate he agreeably surprises ; in the damp, disappoints. In whatever country I have been, in the old world or in the new, in the northern or the southern hemisphere, these results have forced themselves on my observation. * * * * From a long and attentive consideration, as well as from considerable experience on the subject, I have come to consider climates suited to the horse in the following order :—

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1st.—Dry and hot. | 4th.—Damp and temperate. |
| 2nd.—Dry and temperate. | 5th.—Damp and cold. |
| 3rd.—Dry and cold. | 6th.—Damp and hot. |

Mr. Carr's idea of what a stud-farm designed for the production of useful horses ought to be is given by him in the following words :—

"Could I have a site and all facilities for saddle-horse breeding in Australia, just cut out to my fancy, I would have it in this way. On a flat of poorish salty soil, I would grow oaten and barley hay. This, for nine months out of the twelve, should be the food of the stud. Between the hay-racks where the horses were fed, and the watering place, I would have a mountain base, rugged, rocky, and steep ; over this the horses should travel daily to water, and back again to their feed. The distance to be accomplished daily would depend in a great measure on the steepness of the mountain, and be graduated besides to the various ages of the horses ; ranging say between ten miles a day for the four year old horses, and two miles a day for those under a year. During the three spring months of the year, I would indulge the stud with abundance of luxurious grass and salty herbage, water easily accessible ; and almost a complete cessation from toil. The site of my breeding-ground should be in the most favoured path of the hot wind, and in the most arid district that could be found."

In another chapter of his book the following striking passage occurs :—

“ A horse that has not occasionally thirsted from his youth, is of little use in many parts of Australia. Nothing, I am persuaded, is more useful than an early but moderately conducted initiation into those hardships which, to be easily borne, should early become habitual. Let not the breeder fear, then, to keep his horses athirst in the blazing sun ; let his lessons be gradual and progressive ; let him early know hunger, and how to bear it. But whilst his trials are frequent and severe, beware that they be not excessive. Of this his growth and condition must be the indices. When you have tried him with suffering ; regale him with plenty ; let him feast as well as fast ; keep up his spirits, and his condition. So he will become uncoffed of resignation, endurance, and vigour ; and a hundred times more patient, capable, and robust than if he were reared in the enervating lap of luxury and abundance.”

But we consider ourselves relieved from all necessity of inquiring into the principles which ought to be followed if an attempt were to be made to remodel the Government studs now existing in this country ; because we happen to be strongly of opinion that the Indian authorities should cease from horse-breeding altogether and limit, or perhaps it should rather be said, *extend*, their action in this matter to affording encouragement and assistance to the inhabitants of India themselves in breeding horses such as would be serviceable to them in their own daily avocations, and available at the same time for the public service. Without going the length of saying that the political economists of a riper generation may perhaps number all studs maintained by Governments in one and the same category with Frederick the Great's establishment for breeding grenadiers, we yet think that nothing short of the clearest necessity should ever induce a Government to take upon itself functions and industries which rightly belong to the community at large. Failure in the special object aimed at is sometimes the least of the evils which follow, wherever this is done. Moreover, the attempt itself is made under altogether abnormal and unnatural conditions, when regarded from a commercial or business point of view. Thus, if a private horse-breeding company were to select the site of their establishment without regard to any other consideration than its proximity to their own head-quarters, such company would in all probability soon die a natural death. The latter, however, is a contingency to which Governments are less liable, for when anything of the nature of a financial crisis supervenes, an income-tax can always be imposed. Hence, to our thinking, the expediency of Governments holding aloof from all such undertakings, and leaving them to those who must either carry them

out on sound principles, or, failing in that, be driven from the field.

Apart, however, from political economy altogether, we very much doubt the feasibility of trying to imitate artificially or systematically those conditions of life which, when the horse is subjected to them *naturally*, and in the service of those who breed him, make him what he becomes. Nature is one thing, art another. And even if Mr. Carr himself had the direction of the studs of the Indian Government, we do not think he could ever turn out, with all his Spartan principles and imitative process, horses of such a useful stamp as are still bred to some small extent by the agricultural classes of Western India. If the Supreme Government were to take a comprehensive view of their wide dominions, they could not but discover numerous localities not only presenting conditions of climate and population somewhat resembling those amid which horses adapted for war are bred in other parts of the world, but in which numbers of excellent horses have actually been produced from time immemorial. If those who have not made this matter their study would like to have some recognised authority quoted in support of such a statement, we would refer to Captain Henry Shakespear; who, as an officer of the Nizam's Cavalry, and subsequently as Commandant of the Nagpur Irregular Force, had abundant opportunities of gratifying his thirst for information on all questions connected with the horse-supply of this country. And here is what he has written in his well-known work which is referred to at the head of the present article:—

"I am quite convinced that no foreign horse that is imported into India—except the Arab which comes from a hot climate—can work in the sun and in all weathers, like the horse bred in the Deccan. Now, in the Marhattah and Pindáree campaigns, those large bodies of freebooters—for they can scarcely be called anything else—procured their horses chiefly from the Deccan; and these wonderful little horses, making their marches of sixty miles a day, for a time completely baffled our best cavalry. The breed of the Deccan horse, according to the best information from the natives, was highly improved in the beginning of this century, by a cross of Arab horses and mares, five hundred of which were obtained by the Nizam and the nobles of the city of Hyderabad direct from Arabia. This cross shows itself in a very marked manner in the form of the smaller Deccan horse. * * * * These have the fine limbs, broad forehead, and much of the docility of Arabs; and have been mistaken for them. They have all the enduring properties of the Arab, and are much better adapted for the use of the Irregular horseman than any other bred or imported. * * * * The Kateewar was a large and

blood horse ; having what few large horses have, fine lean heads ; and, with much substance below the knee, they were admirably adapted for cavalry chargers. *But Government Studs broke up all the native private breeding establishments ; for these latter could only pay if putronised by Government.* * * * The Hyderabad country alone is capable of rearing two or three thousand horses a year, if encouragement was given. * * * The farmers require encouragement and remunerating prices, and the Marhattah horse-breeder as he is really fond of and understands the animal, would soon produce a very fine breed of horses. The Nizam's Irregular Cavalry regiments in former years, that is before 1848, procured nearly all their remounts in their own country. * * * I have seen both breeds of horses work ; and the well-bred Deccan horse is quite as capable of long marching as the Arab ; or at least as such Arabs as the *silahdars* of Irregular Cavalry can afford to procure. Indeed, if care is taken to admit only the low and blood *Beematoorie*, he is capable of working with any horse in the world. He has all the best points of the high-bred Arab, without his very fine skin, irritable temper, and rather long pasterns ; and he has generally better feet. The Deccan throughout was the country whence the immense number of horses required by the Marhattas was supplied. *It furnished their armies for a lengthened period and through many years of warfare.*"

The first edition of the work from which the above is an extract was published in 1860 ; and we suspect the indigenous breed of horses have neither been multiplying nor improving since then. The latest attempt we ourselves have ever seen to raise regiments of Irregular Cavalry mounted principally on horses of native origin was that made by the late indefatigable General Beatson, during the latter portion of the great mutiny. The animals which were then got together were perhaps a little three-cornered looking and undersized ; shewing signs, in fact, of the neglect from which these once fine breeds have suffered during the last twenty or thirty years. But the writer can bear testimony to the extraordinary powers of endurance which they exhibited. One regiment was mounted entirely on mares ; the other on entire horses. The latter made a little too much noise to be convenient in the presence of an enemy ; but the horses in its ranks were not generally vicious. They had been reared neither in herds nor shut up in loose boxes, but as it were at their breeders' own doors. Therefore they were friendly, companionable, and accustomed to yield their wills to man's.

It may thus be fairly accepted as an established fact that a remount, not of one, but of several excellent breeds of horses exists in many parts of this country. The districts in which such

remounts do exist are undoubtedly those in which the action of Government in the matter of horse-breeding should now be developed. To the civil officers of those districts would naturally be intrusted the task of carrying out the object aimed at. No expensive establishments would be required. Arabian stallions located in suitable centres would commence the good work. Horse shows, with at first very liberal prizes, and the strong influence of the chief civil officer of the district would gradually serve to open the eyes of the landholders to the fact that the services of the Government stallion could not be fully taken advantage of, or the promised prizes secured, until they themselves took to importing mares of a superior stamp. A population which sends its female children to school, and subscribes for the diffusion of vaccination and English medicine, merely for the sake of annual pats on the back from a Lieutenant-Governor or Commissioner, would be easily moved in the direction of horse-breeding; provided of course horses, and not cotton, or rice, formed the natural product of the district where the experiment was tried. When once the discovery was made that a farmer, by investing in a superior mare, could utilize both herself and her colts in a variety of ways, at a comparatively small cost for keep, until the latter were fit to be sold as four year olds as cavalry or artillery remounts, at prices ranging from £30 to £60 a head, the demand might then be left, as of old, to keep up the supply; without any special encouragement from Government in the form of shows, if these were objected to on the score of expense. Not only should no inducement be held out to breeders to enter their stock for the prizes of the Turf; but nothing should be done towards breaking down the natural line of separation existing, as we believe, between the colt bred to distinguish himself in mere contests of speed, and him designed for the 'tented field' and the line of march. The system advocated above of abolishing all remount agencies, and leaving commanding officers to buy their own remounts wherever they are to be procured, would have the effect of distributing the Government demand over the whole country, instead of its stagnating as at present in the Presidency towns. This of itself would powerfully stimulate and augment the supply. The country in short would gradually become stocked up to the limit of its natural capabilities; or resources with excellent horses, distributed over thousands of villages and hamlets; and not massed in depôts, like the produce of the present Government studs, so as to be liable to be harried wholesale by a temporarily victorious enemy, whenever India might again become the theatre of war or mutiny.

It having been our object in the earlier pages of this article to survey the circumstances in which horses famous for military uses are reared in the countries where they are met with; and

to demonstrate that animals answering that description are nowhere bred on the principles followed by the producers of first class stock in England; we have further tried to establish this conclusion, namely, that not only analogy, but facts actually existing before our eyes, tend to prove that though we must be content to *import* horses of the desert Arab's war-nurtured stamp, yet remounts highly suitable for every requisite purpose can be bred in large numbers by the agricultural classes of numerous portions of India itself, if Government will only be true in this matter to its own interests, and to the first axioms of the science of political economy, by creating and maintaining an open market for the stock thus bred, and by carefully abstaining from all interference on its own part. The principles which we have been asserting will, we believe, be found to stand the test of experiment, because they have all been deduced from the results of actual experience, the experience that is to say not of this writer or the other, but of successful breeders of useful horses in many different quarters of the world.

The practical conclusion which we have been aiming at in all that has now been advanced may, therefore, be briefly stated as follows. Encourage in every possible manner the importation to this country of horses suitable for war from every region where these are produced; and at the same time leave no sound or rational means untried of reviving the production, within India's own borders, of those excellent breeds of horses for which she was long famous.

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capacity, and to the District Superintendent of Police in another. But in effect, they must and do depend upon the residents of the village from whom they derive the means of their wretched and precarious existence. The village policeman is a fellow villager of the villagers and a tenant of the Zemindar. He is appointed by the Zemindar and the village community, or by one of these two. He is also maintained by them either by lands, or by wages in money or kind; he is also their servant. The element of wages popularly constitutes the most distinctive feature of the relation between master and servant. The chowkedar is simply the menial of the influential villagers; he is proud to call himself the creature of the talookdar. An absence of independence is the crying weakness of the Bengal Government to assist him in putting up his school, to the ryot who wears the Magistrate to cleanse the fetid trench that stagnates before his door. And as a dog will lick the hand that feeds it, a Bengali chowkedar will throw himself on the village community, and sink in the consciousness of his own feebleness, cringe before the face and grovel at the feet of his paymaster. Yet still, though we cannot hesitate to avow that the connection between the Bengal establishment of police and the village chowkedars is so vague as to be essentially valueless, the mere consciousness of that connexion, such as it is, may possibly be considered under all the circumstances of the case a very natural source of hope and encouragement. The link at all events exists, though slender, and it might have been welded into a bond of unity. It has, we fear, been snapped. Our readers will have observed the enactment of the new chowkedar law passed by the Bengal Legislative Council in 1870. There are two effective principles of this Act. The one recognizes "the fact that the village chowkedar is purely a village servant, employed for the protection of the lives and property of the villagers, and looking to the village community for the regular payment of the remuneration to which he is entitled." The other principle definitely sanctions a decentralized administration of police. To this we shall presently revert at length. The other simply transfers the village chowkedars from the indeterminate control of the Superintendent of Police to the indeterminate control of the Magistrate. And upon this we shall now bestow a few remarks. The issue involved in this principle, although it has less importance than it was at one time considered to possess, is yet of more consequence than the remarks of today is inclined to accord to it. Abstractedly considered, and as a step leading to another and consistent measure of reformation, we believe, and shall venture to maintain, that the principle of the transfer was correct. But

there is not a shadow of reason to presume that the Act is intended to be transitional; on the contrary the recent Municipalities Bill is distinctly designed to perpetuate its operation. And it requires, we think, but easily reflection to persuade ourselves that the tendency of a law which seems to shatter all chance of police unification must be radically misguiding. The very conception of our police rests on an unimpeachable compromise—an exhaustive enactment might have swept all differences into a consistent agreement, the new law codifies the confusion.

Granting, as this law seems to grant, though only partially, that the administration of police is a primary function of Government, the issue as against our legislators resolves itself into an alternative dilemma. Either the departmental officers, meaning by this expression the official organism from the Inspector-General to the District Superintendent, are competent to the management of the rural police in addition to their own duties, or they are not. If they are competent, it ought to be made over to them; if they are not competent, the regular constabulary should be also taken from their hands. Or to reverse the picture, the local Magistrates are or are not competent to manage the district police. If they are not competent, the village police ought not to be entrusted to them; if they are competent, they should be reinstated in their ancient powers without delay.

In point of fact we think the consensus of trustworthy authority would decide the issue of this dilemma against the departmental officers. It might be invidious to appeal to experience. But it is a truism to affirm that our Mosul administration will be generally efficient and also acceptable to the people just in proportion to the degree in which it conforms to what is simple or oriental, in preference to a complex or European model. And it is already widely recognized that the separation of the judicial from the executive power—a doctrine which was at one time the very shibboleth of promotion in official quarters—has not attained that practical success it was expected to deserve. The European idea of provincial government is a minute division of functions and officers. The oriental idea is to unite all power into one centre. The European may possibly be able to comprehend and appreciate the maxim that the thief-taker should not judge the thief. The Asiatic is only confused and aggrieved to hear that his complaint which had been decided as true by one *Saltah* has been dismissed on precisely the same evidence by another. And the Bengali, however deficient in other ways, is at least not infatigable to the Englishman in the logic of confusion. Some will affirm that the authority who first acquiesces into the matter, whitens the faces are green, is more likely to come to a just decision upon the merits than the court of second instance,

Almost as uneventful to Benoudha was the half century during which it formed part of the empire of the Lodis. In Sultán Buhlol's distribution of territory, Lucknow, Karrah and Bahraich are mentioned, but Oudh is conspicuous by its absence. It might be surmised that, as in the last days of the Tughlaks, it was united with Jaunpur; and so at one time it would actually appear to have been; for Tanda, one of its maháls, was held as a fief by a vassal of the ruler of that province.† But this was not continuously the case; for, on other occasions, Oudh is mentioned as having separate governors of its own; and to their exceptional loyalty and to internal tranquillity consequent thereon may perhaps be ascribed its almost total disappearance from history during this period. When in A.D. 1491, the Emperor's brother Bárbak, a prince incapable both of yielding obedience to his suzerain, and of commanding it from his subjects, excited a revolt in his province of Jaunpur by his excessive tyranny, Khán Khánán Lohání of Oudh was among those directed by the Emperor to aid in its suppression.‡ When again, in A.D. 1517, Jalál Khán Lodí joined in a conspiracy to dethrone his brother Ibráhím, the "son of Mobarik Khan Lodi, governor of Oudh," took side with those who endeavoured to thwart his ambitious designs, though rectitude of purpose and purity of cause not invariably ensuring success, he was defeated by Jalál Khán, and compelled to retreat temporarily to Lucknow.§ Two years later, with equal loyalty and better fortune, Shekhzada Muhammad Firmullí of Oudh combined with the governors of Behar and Gházipur to quell a revolt of Islám Khán, governor of Karrah||

* Briggs' Ferishta I, 561.

† Tanda (with Sahsarám) was given to Husain Khán, father of Sher Khán, by Jamal Khán, Governor of Jaunpur (Briggs' Ferishta II, 99). Jamal Khán was appointed to that office in 1492. (*Calcutta Review*, 1865, No. XLI, p. 133.) The reasoning in the text is doubtful however; it is not certain that Tanda formed part of Oudh before the time of Akbar.

‡ Briggs' Ferishta I, 569. The passage we refer to does not actually say that Khán Khánán Lohání was governor of Oudh; it runs that Sikandar ordered Kala Pahár, Shekhzada Muhammad Firmullí, Humaion Khán Shírwání and Khán Khánán Lohání from Oudh to unite with Mubárik Khán of Karrah and march "against the rebels." Shekhzada Muhammad Firmullí was at that time

governor of Bahraich (Briggs' Ferishta I, 560), so Khán Khánán Lohání who was of equal rank with him (both of them being enumerated by Ferishta (I, 564-5) among "forty-four officers of distinction," was probably governor of Oudh, and the mention of that province refers to him exclusively.

§ Briggs' Ferishta I, 592. Who this Mubárik Khán Lodí was is not very clear, but he was probably a son of Bárbak Lodí, governor of Jaunpur. Bárbak had a son of that name (*Ib.* I. 568) and a Mubárik Khán Lodí, (though he did not succeed Bárbak) was Governor of Jaunpur about 1498. (*Ibid.* 574). The governor of Karrah mentioned in the preceding note was Mubárik Khán Lohání (*Ib.* I, 569).

|| Briggs' Ferishta I, 593.

So brief was the connection with Oudh of the Lohánis of Behar that it would involve no grave inaccuracy to say that the house of Lodí was succeeded by that of Taimúr. Bábar, who established the latter on the throne of Dehli, was for the first two years after his accession busily occupied on the west of India; but in 1528 the long remembered "terrors of the Mughul* helmet"† began to be felt in Oudh. A body of Afgháns still held out in that province, and a force which Bábar had despatched against them in the previous year had been defeated by their chief Bában. Bábar was not one to brook such a disgrace; and accordingly marched in person into Oudh. The Ganges was crossed near Bangarman in the middle of March 1528; Lucknow was passed six days later, and a week afterwards Bábar pitched his camp five or six miles from Ayodhyá, at the junction of the Ghogra and the Sarju. His chief object had already been accomplished; for, on the very first day of his halt, his lieutenant, Chin Taimúr Sultán, sent him intelligence of the defeat of the Afghán commander, and the flight and dispersion of his army. But Bábar, like Othniel the son of Kenaz, who both "judged Israel and went out to war," was prepared, as soon as he thrust the sword into the scabbard, to occupy himself with the details of civil government; so he devoted himself to "settling the affairs of Oudh and the surrounding country."‡

How long he halted, or the exact nature of the settlement he made, we may not know; for, though we have his autobiography, there occurs at this point in it a gap most tantalizing to the historian of Oudh, which cannot be fully supplied from any other source. In such intervals of peace as he vouchsafed to Hindústán his martial spirit found congenial recreation in the chase, that "mimicry of noble war;" and, shortly after his arrival at Ayodhyá, he laid aside the pen for the hunting-spear, and set out on an excursion to the north of the river Ghogra; nor does he tell us anything more of his doings for several months subsequently. But, at the same time, what he wrote in the volume of a book he illustrated, so to say, by the visible marks of his

* As to the use of this name with regard to Bábar, see Elphinstone, 4th Edition, 335, 365.

† Regarding this expression see a very interesting note in Elliot's History of India I, 276.533. In the same note, and in the third volume p. 168, are given instances of dreaded warriors whose mere names "acted as a powerful sedative" on those who heard them, or produced an exactly opposite effect. Nor is it by martial

proweess alone that such fame is to be achieved; Macaulay in speaking of the splendour sometimes displayed by Warren Hastings says that "even now after the lapse of more than fifty year . . . nurses sing children to sleep with a jingling ballad about the fleet horses and richly caparisoned horses of Sahib Warren Hostein."

‡ Bábar's *Memoirs*.

progress he imprinted on the territories he passed through, and supplemented by actions the record whereof is indelibly graven in the memory of man ; and thus we learn that his zeal for the faith of Islām, which had been so marvellously quickened by his victory over the Pagan Sangá, and seems to have been an *ex post facto* reason for his memorable expedition against the Ráná,* had not been suffered to flag in the interval between that event and his coming into Oudh. The evidence of a mosque yet standing still shows that he erected a material monument of his visit to Ayodhyá ; and we further know, that in doing so he contrived to accomplish the twofold result so dear to Muhammadan invaders of this country,† of simultaneously raising a place of worship for themselves and desecrating one of the sanctuaries of the heathen ; for Bábar's mosque and Ráma's birthplace form the subject of one and the same picture!‡ A second memorial of the Mughul's sojourn in this vicinity, of a different description, exists in the religion yet professed by the chiefs of Hasanpur, the premier Rájás of Eastern Oudh. He visited the province a second time in the year 1529 ; but the scene of the events which then took place lay near Lucknow and Dalmau, and they are therefore foreign to the history of Benoudha.

Humáyún, Bábar's son, did not much honour Benoudha with his presence, and there was a very obvious reason for the fact ; his rival Sher Sháh generally excluded all possibility of his doing so. Early in Humáyún's reign, Sher Sháh, then known by the more humble designation of Sher Khán, commenced to rear the fabric of that power which was ultimately to extend over the whole of Hindústán, and by the end of the year 1539 had inflicted such a disastrous defeat on Humáyún that he was obliged to retire to Agra. Sher Khán thereupon remained master of all the country eastward from Kanauj, and proceeded to recover Bengal and to put all his former territories into a state of order§ He had already assumed the title of king, and influenced by the insubricity of Gaur, the old capital of Bengal, fixed the seat of government at Khaspur-Tanda, || about forty miles south-east of Faizábád.

* After this expedition Bábar assumed the title of Ghazi.

† After the capture of Benares by Shahábuddín, his army is specially stated to have destroyed nearly one thousand temples, and to have raised mosques on their foundations (Elliot's History of India, II, 223).

‡ Faizábád Report, facing p. 21.

§ Elphinstone, 4th edn. 390

|| Briggs' Ferishta, II, 247. Sher Sháh's selection of Khaspur Tanda

was very probably due to its having been the principal town in one of the jágirs which his father had held and of which he himself received a royal grant on his father's death. It was probably the residence of the deputy by whom the district of the same name was governed. (*Ib.* II., 105.) Regarding Khaspur Tanda, Mr. Carnegie gives the following information in the Akbarpur Tehsil Report:— "It is affirmed that the Bhars former-

Benoudha was thus again raised by Sher Sháh to the dignity of a metropolitan province.

The Sur King might at this time recall with complacency the profitable account to which he had turned the important strongholds of Rahtás and Chanár; he was accompanied also by his son Selím Sháh, who possessed quite Napoleon's partiality for bricks and mortar, and to a combination of these two causes may, we think, be attributed a gigantic undertaking with which he is credited, the simultaneous erection of fifty-two substantial fortresses; among them, Shergarh on the right and Selíngarh on the left bank of the Gumtí bear the names of father and son. This fact gives rise to two reflections. In the first place, we stated that the Muslim parcelled out the province constructed by Vikramá-ditya into smaller jurisdictions. But still, according to Sir Henry Elliot, its conformation was not totally obliterated; it comprised just fifty-two *parganás*,* a Persian terminology, be it observed, and so significative of the alleged division having been effected by the Muslim. Is there then no relation between the fifty-two forts of the one story and the fifty-two *parganás* of the other? The former, we conceive, is the foundation of the latter, supported, perhaps, by a vague popular conjecture that a violent contraction of the Urdu word for fifty-two constitutes the first syllable of Benoudha. In the second place, Sher Sháh is said by Elphinstone to have laid the foundation of that revenue system which, when completed by Akbar, became so celebrated for the benefits it conferred on India. And why not? How often has invention failed to obtain recognition of its merits? How often has genius sighed—*sic vos non vobis*? On this hypothesis, it would appear probable that Benoudha was the favoured region into which the

ly cleared this part of the district of jungle and having established a village therein they gave to it the name of *Khaspur*, because it was their personal abode" (Akbarpur Report, p. 10); and again: "It is traditionally asserted that one Malik Khas Zahidi of Bagdad came and settled in these parts some centuries ago and taking up his residence at Khaspur he gave to it his own name, and he soon attached other villages thereto. This seems a more likely origin to the name than that which attributes it to the Bhars." (*Ib.* p. 11). In this opinion we concur; the old name of the town was *Khawaspur*, we may remark, and Ferishta mentions a *Khawas* Khan, son of *Malik* Supa, Sher Sháh's deputy in the

"district of Khawaspur Tanda" (Briggs' *Ferishta* II, 105). As to "Tanda Mr. Caruegy says:—"With-
"in two miles of the latter village
"(*Khaspur*) was a spot on the banks
"of the Gogra which was formerly
"largely visited by Banjaras or travel-
"ling dealers, probably because it was
"the only ferry for miles, and from
"the fact that the encamping ground
"of Banjaras and the gangs of Banja-
"ras themselves also are both known
"by the name of Tanda, so this spot
"permanently came to be called by that
"name." (Akbarpur Report, p. 10).

* In the *Tárikh-i-Firúz Sháhí* there are said to have been the same number of flourishing *parganás* in the Doáb in the reign of Firúz Sháh (Elliot's *History of India*, III, 345).

subsequently famous administrative reforms were first introduced ; for the fort, with which Sher Sháh studded it may, we believe, be to some extent identified with those named in the *Ain-i-Akbari*,* and the fact just noted, that it was a metropolitan province, lends additional probability to the supposition.

From the time of Sher Khán we are thus led on almost imperceptibly to that of Akbar, and as there is nothing to arrest our attention intermediately, we need not wish to return from the point we have now arrived at. Akbar divided his empire into *Súbahs* or provinces, *Sarkárs* or divisions, and *maháls* or *parganáas*.† The name of Oudh now came to bear a triple meaning ; in its widest sense it was a *Súbah*, in its narrowest a *Mahál*. "The *Súbah* of 'Oudh,' says Abul Fazl's translator, "is situated in the second 'climate. The length from Sirkar Gowreekpoor to Kínóje includes 135 *coss*, and the breadth from the northern mountains of Seddehpoor to the *Sóbbah* of Allahabad comprises 115 *coss*. 'To the east it has Bahar ; on the north lie mountains ; Manick-poor bounds it on the south, and Kínóje on the west." With respect to its internal economy it consisted of five *Sarkárs*, Oudh, Lucknow, Khairábád, Bahraich, and Gorakhpur ; and in some of these we have, roughly repeated, the divisions before mentioned of the ancient kingdom of Oudh. Though the old names were now displaced, the Ghogra's broad stream still placed a natural barrier between north and south ; the *Sarkárs* of Bahraich and Gorakhpur together tallied pretty closely with Uttara Kosala, and separately with the smaller sub-divisions of Ganda and Uttara Kosala proper. Benoudha was also as in olden times bisected ; and the lesser, Pachhim-rát, constituted the *Sarkár* of Oudh, Purab-rát falling into *Sarkár* Jaunpur in the *Súbah* of Allahabad.‡

Of the *maháls* comprised in the various *Sarkárs*, a detailed list is given by Mr. Carnegie,§ but it does not claim to be more than "approximately correct," and we do not therefore intend to dwell at any length upon it. Even with its admitted defects, however, it is of undoubted value and contributes in an important degree to fill up the blank left in Sir Henry Elliot's maps.|| Much of it, moreover, is beyond cavil accurate ; and for the correction of any errors there may be, peculiar facilities exist at the present time, while the province is under settlement, and a provincial gazetteer is in course of compilation.

* In the lists of *Sarkárs* and *Maháls*, it is frequently stated that a certain *mehál* contains a brick or stone fort.

† The *Sarkár*, however, existed before the *Súbah* was created. (G.M.D. win's *Ayeen Akbary*, II, I).

‡ Except that the Gwarich and Amodha *maháls* lay to the north of the Ghogra.

§ Faizabad Report, p. 10.

|| We refer to those attached to the Supplemental Glossary.

The territorial arrangements here described do not show the full extent of Akbar's connection with Benoudha. He more than once visited it; in 1564 his presence was demanded in it to quell a revolt of Sikandar Khán and other Uzbek Chiefs, who held governments in the vicinity of Jaunpur; and scarcely had he returned to Agra (1566) before the Uzbaks availing themselves of his absence, took possession of Kanauj and Oudh. Akbar forthwith proceeded to Jaunpur, and thence marched against Khán Zamán, the repeatedly disloyal ruler of that province, then engaged in the siege of Shergarh—probably the place of that name on the banks of the Gumti, already alluded to as having been founded by Sher Sháh.* Khán Zamán retreated first to Rái Bareli and then to Karrah, where he was brought to bay by Akbar, and lost his life in the action which ensued. But the Uzbek rebellion was not yet crushed; when Akbar returned to Jaunpur, Sikandar Khán still held out in "the fort of Oudh," and it was not until he was forced to evacuate it and escape to Gorakhpur that the province was completely tranquillized. To this period may be assigned the foundation of the town of Akbarpur, which now gives its name to a parganá, and contains the head-quarters of a tehsil sub-division. For it lies on the route from Jaunpur to Ayodhyá and Faizábád, various inscriptions to be found in it bear the date of the year 976 of the Hijrah era,† and it is from the famous emperor that it takes its name. Akbar like Bábar set his seal upon Benoudha; while, more tolerant and liberal-minded than his grandfather, he did not restrict himself to a place of worship for the professors of his own religion. He built a mosque, indeed, but managed to find a site for it, it seems, without destroying any Hindú temples, and following the dictates of the feeling which made him sneer at Ibráhím Sherkí erecting more mosques than bridges,‡ accompanied it with other buildings calculated to confer a common benefit on all classes of his subjects; a fort, a fine masonry bridge spanning the Tonse, and a bazár constructed by his orders, formed the nucleus of the present town of Akbarpur.§ The

* This was not the first time, by-the-by, this worthy had attacked Benoudha. He had appropriately commenced his career at Jaunpur by seducing away, immediately on his appointment to that government, a trooper who had been favourite of Humayún's, but had soon been compelled to let him go. The trooper then fled to Surburrpur, taking one of Zamán Khán's mistresses with him, and then lost his life in a quarrel about her. Zamán Khán thereupon

marched against Mir Abdul Rahman governor of Surburrpur, who fled to court for protection. (Briggs' *Ferishta* II, 192-3).

† Akbarpur Report, p. 1. This would be the date of their completion probably, and so support our view that they were commenced one or two years earlier.

‡ *Calcutta Review*, No. XLI, p. 122.

§ Akbarpur Report, p. 1.

memory of his grandson, Sháh Jahán, is similarly perpetuated in the towns of Sháhjahánpur and Shahzadpur, on the opposite bank of the Touse to Akbarpur, and connected with it by the bridge just mentioned.*

We explained at the outset that we selected Benoudha for our theme as more especially connected with the old Hindú capital Ayodhyá, and we must therefore bear carefully in mind the gradual metamorphosis that was being wrought in that city. Its distinctively Hindú character was fast fading away before the continuous influx of Musalmáns, and a plurality of mosques was added to its already plentiful supply by the bigot Aurangzeb. And this is the last circumstance that leaves any trace of its being subject to the imperial rulers of Dehli; on the one hand their dominion over Benoudha was soon to pass away, while, on the other, almost at the same time, Ayodhyá, shorn of its pristine splendour, was to cease to be a capital, and to sink into the humble condition of a suburb of the Muslim town of Faizábád; thereafter too it was to continue its downward course, and decline through the various stages of decay, until at the present time the "city" of Ayodhyá which is confined to the north-east corner of the "old site, is just two miles in length by about three quarters of a mile in breadth; but not one-half of this extent is occupied by buildings, and the whole place wears a look of decay."†

Alas, alas, that great city!

The decadence of Ayodhyá the *ancient capital* severs the last link almost which connects Benoudha with modern history.

But we should not feel that the goal had been fairly reached did we omit to notice the interesting period during which it still remained in the modern capital of Faizábád, the seat of government of the province of Oudh.

Immediately on the death of Aurangzeb, was repeated the old story of a disputed succession. The details of the intestine troubles by which the empire was for a time distracted are foreign to our subject. We take up the thread of general history where Muhammad Sháh is seated on the throne by the two king-makers, the Sayyid Brothers Abdullah Khán and Husain Alí. Princes, eastern potentates especially, are supposed to be particularly prone to ingratitude, and not least conspicuous in this respect are those who have had to climb a throne; that pinnacle of ambition once attained, they are but anxious to rid themselves of the means of ascent, as too suggestive, perhaps, of the possibility of their being employed for the opposite purpose. Muhammad Sháh, no exception to this rule, secretly chafed beneath the thralldom of

* Akbarpur Report, p. 2.

† Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, 406.

his Mentors' control, and took the earliest opportunity of plotting their removal. Chief among his counsellors and confederates was Muhammad Amin Khán, who afterwards, for a few days, exercised a little brief authority as Vazír, and with whom we have no further concern; and next to him came Saádat Khán,* under whose descendants Oudh was again destined to recover its independence.

Saádat Khán, who now held this confidential position, was originally a merchant of Khorasan; but, having been entrusted with a military command in the imperial service, had thereby risen to distinction. He was then appointed Subahdár of Agra; and as in that post he displayed great administrative ability, and Oudh was in a very unsettled condition at the time, he was transferred to the latter province. A single battle with its rebellious barons, in which though having to contend with much superior forces, he obtained a decisive victory, led to the immediate restoration of order and tranquillity. To such a degree was this the case that he found abundant leisure to take an active part in the affairs of other divisions of the empire. His achievements beyond the frontiers of Oudh, however, belong to general history, in which they meet with ample recognition,† and we need not recount them here. The only point that yet claims our attention is that to him may be attributed the first commencement of the foundation of Faizábád, thus described by Mr. Carnegy:—"The city of Faizábád was in those days a Keorah jungle, and in this the Nawáb was in the frequent habit of shooting. Here on the high bank of the Sarju he built himself a shooting-box or bungalow, from which circumstance the locality was ever afterwards known by the name of Bungalow. The building is still pointed out in the compound of the Opium Agency, of which it is one of the out-offices. During this rule the Dilkusha palace is said to have been commenced, but ere the city was fairly founded the Nawab was gathered to his fathers."

"He poisoned himself in A.D. 1739, leaving a well-filled treasury.‡ With similar disinterestedness did Achitophel, similarly unmindful of the "canon against self-slaughter," put everything in order for his successors before his sudden and unceremonious exit from this worldly stage!

Saádat Khán was succeeded by Mansur Alf Khán, better known as Safdar Jang; who in the year 1748 was raised to the high dignity of Prime Minister, and thus became the first of those famous Nawáb Vazírs, who, says Macaulay,§ held the power though they did not venture to use the style of sovereignty. To the appellation of Nabob or Viceroy, they added that of Vizier of

* Elphinstone, 4th ed., 611.

† *Ibid.*, 623, etc.

‡ Faizabad Report, p. 13.

§ Macaulay's *Essays*, *Warren Hastings*.

"the monarchy of Hindustan just as in the last century the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, though independent of the emperor, and often in arms against him, were proud to style themselves his Grand Chamberlain and Grand Marshal."

At the time of Safdar Jang's appointment to the premiership, the Rohillas were growing troublesome in the north of Oudh; and he therefore contrived so to shape the course of imperial policy as to subserve his own private ends, and rid the State and himself simultaneously of a formidable enemy. He at first obtained some little success; but fortune, disgusted at a dishonourable breach of faith he committed,* speedily deserted him, and the Rohillas penetrated to Allahabad without the Vazir's being able to subdue them.† In this dilemma, he saw no hope of safety, but in the assistance of the Mahrattas, which he obtained by the promise of a large subsidy. Thus strengthened, he again ventured to meet the foe, defeated their army, and overran their country. To such a wretched plight were the humbled Rohillas reduced that they thought themselves fortunate in obtaining a few villages for the support and maintenance of their chiefs.

Safdar Jang was soon again plunged in war, and this time with his nominal sovereign. On his return to Dehli he discovered that during his absence his influence at court had been supplanted by one Jāwīd, a eunuch, a difficulty which he immediately removed by the assassination of the unfortunate Jāwīd. The exasperated emperor eagerly sought an opportunity of retaliation, but to such a miserably low ebb had the imperial authority fallen, that he could only effect his purpose by setting up another rival to the presumptuous offender, and Ghāziuddīn, grandson of Asaf Jah, was the individual selected. Civil war ensued, and lasted for six months; and at the end of that time it was only terminated by Safdar Jang condescending to make peace on his own terms, which were that he should receive the two provinces of Oudh and Allahabad in lieu of the single one of Oudh which he had previously held. In the union of these two governments may be perceived the first approach towards the alteration of the boundaries assigned by Akbar to the Subah of Oudh.

Safdar Jang died in the year 1754, and was succeeded by his son Shujāuddaulah, not through any fault of his rival Ghāzi-ud-dīn, who would apparently have been only too gratified to oust him, had he found it possible to do so. Shujāuddaulah was left undisturbed for two years, when the third invasion of Ahmad Shāh Durāni occurred. This was entirely due to Ghāzi-ud-dīn's treacher-

* His seizure of the territory he had gash his late ally.
by the widow of Qaim Khan Bau- † Elphinstone, 650.

ous attack upon Ahmad Sháh's governor of the Panjáb,^b but scarcely had the invader crossed that province before Gháziuddín succeeded in obtaining his forgiveness. But though the chief criminal was thus pardoned, the country which had the misfortune to own him as its minister was not absolved from the consequences of his crime. Ahmad Sháh demanded pecuniary compensation, and elected to obtain it by the plunder of cities, towns and provinces. The part assigned to Gházi-ud-dín in the business was to proceed against and levy a contribution from Shujáuddaulah, and the task was no doubt thoroughly consonant with his own inclinations. But however great his dislike of the son of his old rival, he was not the man to go to war for an idea, when in other directions more substantial reasons for engaging in the same pursuit invited his attention. He had advanced no further than Farakhábád when he received the exciting intelligence of Ahmad Sháh's retirement from India, so he immediately relinquished the intended expedition into Oudh, and with the least possible delay set out on his return to Dehli. The single public act he performed before he started was characteristic of the individual who had once already provoked the wrath of the Duráni Chief and done so with impunity. Ahmad Sháh had, previous to his departure, appointed Najibuddaulah, a noble Rohilla, commander-in-chief at Dehli; and Gháziuddín, completely ignoring the appointment, bestowed the office on one of his own adherents, Ahmad Khán Bangash, chief of Farakhábád. He took the precaution at the same time of strengthening himself by an alliance with those ever-ready mercenaries, the Mahrattas, and then marched on to Dehli.

The respite Shujáuddaulah thus obtained was of very brief duration, however. Ghaziuddín and the Mahrattas having a little leisure time on their hands, entered into an agreement to turn it to account by taking possession of Oudh. Shujáuddaulah, on his side, prepared for the contest by courting the friendship of Najibuddaulah and his former opponents, the Rohillás. The Mahratta attack fell first on Rohilkhand, and the result of it is briefly summed in the statement that "1,300 villages were destroyed in little more than a month, while the Rohillas were obliged to retreat for "safety to the mountains."* Shujáuddaulah's own interests forbade his disregarding the critical position of his allies; and he "made a rapid march against the Mahrattas, surprised their army, and drove them with heavy loss across the Ganges. Disturbing rumours now arrived of Ahmad Sháh's fourth invasion, and peace was hastily concluded. (1759).

The Mahratta forces were at this time divided into two bodies commanded respectively by Dataji Sindia and Malhár Rao Holkár.

* Elphinstone, 656.

Both were separately encountered, defeated, and almost annihilated by the Duránis.* But notwithstanding this great calamity the Mahratta power was not yet broken. The supreme command of their armies was conferred on the peshwá's cousin, Sedásheo Rao Bhao, and "whatever the nation possessed either of power or magnificence was brought forth to give weight to Sedasheo Bhao. "The news of the misfortunes of Sindia and Holkár were only a "fresh stimulus to exertion; and it seemed to be resolved by one "great and decisive effort to put the finishing stroke to the conquest of Hindústán."

The Duránis in the meantime, had not been idle, and the forces were now marshalled on both sides; the splendid prize within grasp of the victor was the vacant† throne of Hindústán, and a subsidiary issue to be determined was whether it should henceforward be occupied by the Muslim or the Hindú. On one side were ranged the Mahrattas with many a powerful band of Rájput auxiliaries; on the other was the Duráni host, reinforced by Najíbuddaulah and the Rohillas. One chief of any consequence alone remained irresolute which side to join;‡ the Nawáb of Oudh was for the time arbiter of the destinies of Hindústán. His position was difficult and perplexing; on the one hand he must ally himself with the enemy of his father, on the other, he must make common cause with the enemies of his faith. Fully appreciating the nature of the situation, and conscious of the importance of securing his alliance, Ahmad Sháh was cantoned for the rains at Anupshahr on the frontier of Oudh, ready to join forces with him if he declared in favour of the Muhamminadan princes, and equally ready to commence hostile operations against him if he ventured to choose the opposite alternative. At length by the intervention of Najíbuddaulah he was prevailed upon to throw the weight of his power into the Duráni scale.

The great contest commenced with desultory attacks on either side, which continued until at last the Mahrattas began to suffer from scarcity of provisions. The Bhao then opened negotiations, and Shujáuddaulah became the medium of communication between him and the chiefs of the Duráni army.§ The Nawáb himself strongly advocated peace, but the far-sightedness of Najíbuddaulah accurately gauged the dangers to be anticipated from neglecting so favourable an opportunity of crushing the Mahrattas, and the counsel of Shujáuddaulah was overborne. How little worth is the strongest fortification, or the most stubborn valour of its defenders

* Elphinstone, 657.

† On the death of Alamgir II, another member of the royal family was raised to the throne by Gháziuddín, but his title was never acknowledged;

the rightful successor of Alamgir was away in Bengal (Elphinstone, 65.)

‡ *Ibid*, 359.

§ *Ibid*, 662.

against a prolonged attack of famine the event of recent years have fearfully exemplified, and the Mahrattas unable to obtain peace had to choose between absolute starvation and meeting their enemies in the open field. They elected to do the latter, and a pitched battle was the result.

The battle of Pānīpat occupies one of the most prominent places in the history of India; but we are only concerned in seeing what was the share in it of the governor of Oudh, and how he comported himself in that memorable engagement. By means of information received from his spies he was the first to apprise Ahmad Shāh of the approach of the Mahrattas, and thus, of course, rendered him a signal service; but his subsequent conduct proved him to be on this occasion, as always, a lukewarm and untrustworthy ally. The position assigned to him was next to the grand vazīr, who when the battle was at its height was fighting, though hotly pressed, with most indomitable courage and rallying his wavering troops. "Ride," said he to one of those near him, "to Shujā-uddaulah, and tell him that if he does not support me immediately, 'I must perish.'" But Shujā to his shame be it recorded, though he kept his ground, took no further part in the action.* He seems to have considered that nothing but his own individual interests had to be regarded, and that they were best served by his remaining an inactive spectator while Durānī and Mahratta were engaged in the work of mutual destruction. Such, at least, is the conclusion suggested by comparing his behaviour on this occasion with his prompt and vigorous action in aid of the Rohillas when he knew that their subjection would be but the prelude to the invasion of his own territories; his support of his allies in both instances was exactly proportioned to the degree in which it conduced to the furtherance of his own selfish aims.

The Durānī chief was victorious, but the confederacy of the Muhammadan princes dissolved immediately on the cessation of their common danger. Ahmad Shāh appears to have attached so little value to the throne of Dehli that he disdained to seat himself upon it, and returned home without attempting to derive any profit from his victory.† Shujāuddaulah too reaped no further advantage from it than that it prevented Ghāziuddin and the Mahrattas from forming a second league against him. This relief, indeed, should not be underrated; it came to him most opportunely, for he had of late created a new foe against whom it became necessary for him to employ his utmost resources.

On hearing of the successes of the English in the Carnatic, Alivardī Khān, sūbahdār of Bengal, Orissa and Behar, uttered the

* Elphinstone, 664.

† Elphinstone, 665.

memorable prophecy that as soon as he was dead, and Sirájuddaulah succeeded him, the "hat-men" would possess themselves of "all the shores of Hind," and when urged to take measures for the prevention of such a contingency asked his advisers— "What wrong have the English done me that I should wish them ill? look at you plain covered with grass; should you set fire to it, there would be no stopping its progress, and who is the man then who shall put out a fire that shall break forth at sea and from thence come out upon land? Beware of lending an ear to such proposals again: for they will produce nothing but evil."* His successor, however, strove to stem the tide of English conquest; but the attempt was futile, and to the extent at least of his own dominions, his prediction was fulfilled within a year after his decease. The "hat-men" thus became neighbours of the Nawáb of Oudh, and he soon made them his enemies. The circumstances which led to that result may be briefly told as follows. Sháh Alam, son of Alamgir II, and heir apparent, justly apprehensive of the designs of Gháziuddín, had in the year 1756 fled from his father's court,† and now (1758) seeing the unsettled state of the provinces, held by the nominee of their late conquerors, caused himself to be formally invested súbahdár of them, under the impression that he could easily get them into his possession. In the meantime Muhammad Kuli Khán, cousin of Shujáuddaulah, and governor of Allahabad, had on perfectly different grounds determined on an invasion of Bengal, and with the view of procuring the semblance of a good cause, permitted Sháh Alam to become the nominal leader of a joint expedition. Shujáuddaulah also was applied to, and professed to throw himself heart and soul into the scheme, but, as the event proved, with no greater sincerity than usual. For when the expedition was about to start, he contrived to persuade Sháh Alam and Muhammad Kuli Khan to go on in advance, telling them that he would follow as soon as possible, and when they had got as far as Patna, proceeded to accomplish the only object, perhaps, he had in view, by seizing his cousin's fort of Allahabad. Muhammad Kuli Khan immediately retraced his steps in hopes of being able to recover it; but having, with sadly misplaced confidence, ventured to trust himself in Shujáuddaulah's hands he was speedily put to death. Sháh Alam, deprived of his ally, was compelled to abandon his enterprise and thus ended the abortive attempt to get possession of Bengal, in which Shujáuddaulah first declared himself an enemy of the English, though as yet he had taken no active part against them. We must not omit to point out that the local effect of these transactions was that Shujáuddaulah reunited the

temporarily divided dominions of his predecessor Safdar Jung, and became sole master of the two súbahs of Oudh and Allahabad.

At the close of 1759, Alamgir II. was assassinated by direction of Gháziuddín, who on the approach of Ahmad Sháh fled for refuge into the Jat country. Sháh Alam now assumed the title of Emperor; and bestowed that of Vazir on* Shujáuddaulah, in whose hands he continued a mere puppet for some time after. In 1760, this worthy pair again invaded Bengal; and Patna was, as before, selected as the point of attack. Twice did they besiege that city, twice were they compelled to raise the siege; and when regular operations thus proved unsuccessful,† the Emperor, still in some measure supported by the Nawáb, occupied himself in making desultory incursions into the territory of Bengal. This state of affairs continued for some months, until at last Major Carnac, the English commander, forced the Mughul army into an engagement, and finally defeated it in the very month in which the battle of Pá nipat was fought.‡

This defeat kept Shujáuddaulah quiet for a time, but the fire still smouldered; it was subdued, but not extinguished, and it required but the slightest fanning to cause it to break out afresh. This was not long wanting. Mír Kásim on the termination of his ephemeral tenure of the Government of Bengal, fled for protection to the Nawáb of Oudh, who readily espoused his cause, with very much the same intention as he had undertaken to assist Muhammad Kuli Khan, that is, of finding an opportunity of seizing his ally's territory for himself.§ With Pharaoh-like obduracy, he suffered reverse after reverse without paying the slightest heed to the instruction it conveyed; again was he defeated at thrice unlucky Patna, and at the end of 1764 endured a more decisive defeat than any which had preceded it, at the famous battle of Baxár.|| It was then determined to depose him and put the Emperor, who made peace with the English and joined their camp, in possession of all his territories with the exception of Benares and Gházipur, which were granted to the English by an imperial farmán.¶ The very existence of the Nawáb Vazír's dynasty was thus threatened, but even yet his power and spirit both remained

* It has been seen that Safdar Jang was the first Nawab-Vazir, but on his death Gháziuddín had installed himself in the office of Vazir, and Shujáuddaulah did not obtain it until the period mentioned in the text (Elphinstone, 632; Murray's History of India; 331; Aitchison's Treaties II, 2).

+ Murray's History of India, 330-331.

‡ That is in January 1761 (Aitchison's Treaties II, 2); the battle of Pá nipat took place on the 6th of that month (Elphinstone, 663). Hence the remark we made above as to the opportuneness of the relief afforded to Shujáuddaulah by the overthrow of the Mahrattas at Pá nipat.

§ Aitchison's Treaties, II, 2.

¶ Murray's History of India, 337.

* Aitchison's Treaties, II, 2.

unbroken; his antagonism to the British was to be at last terminated by the magic of a mighty name. The middle of the year 1765 found him again encamped with a large army on the frontier of Behar. "He had been joined by many Afgháns and Mahrattas, and there was no small reason to expect a general coalition of all the native powers against the English. But the name of Clive quelled in an instant all opposition. The enemy implored peace in the humblest language, and submitted to such terms as the new governor chose to dictate."*

The hard measure meted out to the Nawáb by the treaty,† of 1764 was disapproved by the Court of Directors, who plainly recognized the fact that he was a very useful bulwark against the inroads of the Mahrattas, whose power was again becoming formidable; and the terms conceded to him by Clive were suggested by the spirit of the Court of Directors' comment on the arrangements of the preceding year. The Nawáb was reinstated in all his possessions, with the exception of the Sarkárs of Allahabad and Korah, which were given to the Emperor for the support of his dignity and expenses, and this distribution of territory continued in force until Sháh Alam committed the ill-advised act of leaving the protection of the British for that of the Mahrattas. His title to his two Sarkárs was thus destroyed, and in 1773 they were formally sold to the Nawáb for half a million sterling.‡

One more transaction only of the reign of Shujáuddaulah requires to be narrated. When it occurred, Clive had passed away from the scene of Indian history, and Warren Hastings had become Governor-General; and such was the participation in it of the latter, that it has left a lasting stain not on his name alone, but on that of his country also. § We refer to the conquest of Rohilkhand. Gladly would we pass it over in silence, but it exercised too great an influence on the fortunes of Oudh to admit of our following such a course. The events which ultimately led to it commenced in the year 1771. The Mahrattas then threatened an invasion of Rohilkhand; and the Rohillas in alarm applied for succour to the Nawáb of Oudh, who entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with them, they on their part stipulating to pay the Nawáb forty lakhs of rupees for the expulsion of the Mahrattas. The treacherous and unprincipled Nawáb, ever greedy after the possessions of his allies, and fearful now, moreover, of permanently losing what had once been a portion of his own, and he still hoped to recover,|| went off to Benares to solicit assistance from the English,—not against the Mahrattas, the enemies of his allies, but against those allies

* Macaulay's *Essays*, *Lord Clive*.

† Between the English and the

Emperor.

‡ Aitchison's *Treaties*, 64-5. 84.

§ Macaulay's *Essays*, *Warren Hastings*.

|| Macaulay's *Essays*, *Warren Hastings*.

themselves ; the grounds of his complaint against them were that they were unable to resist the Mahrattas, and had failed in their pecuniary obligations.*

"There was in India," says Macaulay, "one army and only one against which even those proud Caucasian tribes could not stand. It had been abundantly proved that neither tenfold odds, nor the martial ardour of the boldest Asiatic nations, could avail aught against English science and resolution. Was it possible to induce the Governor of Bengal to let out to hire the irresistible energies of the imperial people, the skill against which the ablest chiefs of Hindostan were helpless as infants, the discipline which had so often triumphed over the frantic struggles of fanaticism and despair, the unconquerable British courage which is never so sedate and stubborn as towards the close of a doubtful and murderous day.†

"This was what the Nawab Vizier asked and what Hastings granted. A bargain was soon struck. Each of the negotiators had what the other wanted. Hastings was in need of funds to carry on the Government of Bengal and to send remittances to London, and Sujah Dowlah had an ample revenue. Sujah Dowlah was bent on subjugating the Rohillas ; and Hastings had at his disposal the only force by which the Rohillas could be subjugated. It was agreed that an English army should be lent to the Nawab Vizier and that for the loan, he should pay four hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides defraying all the charge of the troops while employed in his service. We hasten to the end of this sad and disgraceful story. The war ceased. The finest population in India was subjected to a greedy, cowardly, cruel tyrant. Commerce and agriculture languished. The rich province which had tempted the cupidity of Sujah Dowlah became the most miserable part even of his miserable dominions. Yet is the injured nation not extinct. At long intervals gleams of its ancient spirit have flashed forth ; and even at this day, valour and self-respect and a chivalrous feeling, rare among Asiatics, and a bitter remembrance of the great crime of England, distinguish that noble Afghan race. To this day they are regarded as the best of all sepoys at the cold steel ; and it was very recently remarked by one who had enjoyed great opportunities of observation, that the only natives of India to whom the word gentleman can with perfect propriety be applied are to be found among the Rohillas.‡

The close of Shujasuddaulah's dishonourable career is appropriately marked by such a crowning act as the acquisition of Rohilkhand.

* After the Mahrattas had extorted from the Emperor the grant of the districts of Allahabad and Korah, the Nawab became thoroughly alarmed, etc. (Aitchison's Treaties, II., 8).
 † Aitchison's Treaties, II., 8.
 ‡ Macaulay's Essays, Warren Hastings.

That event took place in the year 1774; in 1775 Shujáuddaulah was—we were going to say (of him as of Saádat Khán), gathered to his fathers, but the expression itself reminds us that “he was the first of his line whose body was not carried west, that his ashes might mingle with the dust of his fathers. “He was buried at Faizabad in the Gulah-bári, a mausoleum “which is still an ornament to the place,”—as is the photograph of it to the book from which we quote this passage.

Asafuddaulah, son of Shujáuddaulah, succeeded to dominions more extensive than had yet been held by any Muhammadan governor of Oudh, but he was not destined to retain them long intact. Immediately on his accession a treaty was concluded by which Benares, Gházipur, Jaunpur and the possessions of Rájá Chait Singh were ceded to the British Government.† Benoudha, the whole of which had since the time of Safdar Jang been united under one ruler, was now again split asunder, and for the third time almost along the meridian of Ayodhyá lay a political and religious frontier. On both sides of it indeed Bráhmaism, which we have twice seen, first on one side and then on the other, fostered and encouraged by mighty kings, had become the religion of the masses, and so far as they were concerned had altogether driven its old antagonists from the field; but those who wielded the sceptre on either side professed two newer faiths commonly symbolized by the crescent and the cross; on the west ruled the Asiatic, the Muslim, the vassal of the Great Mughul; the east owned the sway of the European, the Christian, the subject of the King of England.

To the English reader of Indian history, Asafuddaulah is chiefly known by his unsuccessful attempts to appropriate and resume the jágirs of the Begams, his mother and his grandmother. These domestic squabbles were referred to Warren Hastings, and thus obtained some political importance, but we need not describe them in detail; we concentrate our attention on one of the results they produced. With the single unfilial object of being as far as possible away from his mother,—*impudens liquit patrios Penates*!—Asafuddaulah finally transferred his capital from Faizábád to Lucknow.

Even Faizábád, which had eclipsed Ayodhyá, now became a mere provincial town; and though the province of Oudh still continued to exist as before, Benoudha ceased to contain its capital and to be of any paramount importance in its history. Not even now, however, did the outline of the old division entirely disappear; on Saádat Ali Khán's settlement of his territories after the treaty of 1801, four *nizámats* were formed and one of them, that of Sultánpur, approximately coincided with Pachhim-rát, the

* Faizabad Report, 13-15.

† Aitchison's Treaties, II. 65.

western portion of Benoudha, nor did any alteration of its limits take place until the annexation of the province. Kingdom, we should rather say ; for its elevation from the lesser to the greater dignity occurred in the year 1819, when Ghāziuddīn Haider, the then Nawāb, supported by the British Government, formally renounced his allegiance to the house of Taimur, and assumed the emblems of sovereignty. And bitterly, according to local tradition, did the titular Emperor resent this insult to his authority. A pompous embassy was despatched to Ghāziuddīn Haider to deliver inimical congratulations to him on his accession to the throne, and a medallion bearing a legend which, it was suggested, should be impressed on coins struck in the mint of Oudh.

Sikka, zad bar haft Kishwar sāyah fazl illah

Hamīdīn Muhammad Shah 'Alam badshah

ran the legend on the imperial rupee ; * that recommended for Oudh was the following abusive parody of it :—

Sikka zad bar Awadh ba jaur-i-falak

An Wazīr-i-chunān lain-namak.

The kingdom of Oudh was maintained until the year 1856 ; when the Resident's recent enquiries having shown that it was in a most deplorable state, and that the improvement which had been one of the conditions of the treaty of 1801, and which Lord Hardinge had peremptorily demanded seven years before, had not been carried out, it was permanently annexed to the British empire. By whom this was effected is told in the following commemorative couplet :

Peccavi, I have (sinned) Sindh, wrote Ellenborough proud ;

Dalhousie wrote much shorter, Vovi, I have (vowed) Oudh.

And following the actual meaning of the latter verb, we may add that the events of the following year furnished a terrible illustration of those unforeseen results which says the satirist so frequently qualify the satisfaction anticipated from the "*voti peracti*." †

We have now completed the history of the province of which Ayodhyā was the capital so far as to have shown the successive dynasties it has been governed by, and the changes it has from time to time undergone in territorial extent ; hereafter we propose to give our attention to various points connected with its internal history.

(To be continued.)

* So says the story ; and though Shah Alam had ceased to reign before 1819, rupees struck at the Calcutta mint at a much latter date still continued to bear a legend differing only in the arrangement of the words from that given in the text (Prinsep's

Indian Antiquities.)

† Juvenal X. 5, 6. Thus rendered by Dr. Badham :—

What unrepented project hast thou framed ?

What ~~was~~ preferred nor wish'd the ~~g~~ reclaimed ?

ART. VI.th.--TOBACCO AS A SOURCE OF IMPERIAL REVENUE.

IT is a general belief that the taxation of tobacco has been often under the consideration of Government and that in such thrice-threshed chaff there can now be no hope of finding any wheat. This belief is, however, quite at variance with facts, for tobacco as a source of imperial revenue has never been adequately considered. One measure (the Madras Monopoly Regulation of 1811) was, it is true, most voluminously discussed at the time, turned inside out and finally patched to death; but this attention was not directed to the general question of tobacco, taxation but to a particular measure bad in conception, faulty in application and disastrous in results. Beyond this the subject of taxing tobacco has obtained only the most perfunctory attention—not, I believe, from any inadequate estimate of its importance, for this is admitted readily enough, but from the prevalence of a vague impression that the whole subject was “once upon a time” thoroughly tested and under the ordeal broke down. I would therefore bring forward the taxation of tobacco as a novelty, at any rate as a subject deserving of one fair hearing.

The vague impression referred to above originated, I feel sure, in the fiasco of the Madras Monopoly, and I will therefore refer to that measure at some length. Madras has always been foremost in the matter of tobacco in India, and though the cultivation of Tirhoot and Aracan has of late increased both in area and popularity, that Presidency produces at the present day the largest quantity of the best quality. Sixty years ago its prominence was even more striking, and when a revenue system still inchoate was being licked into shape, tobacco naturally received early and earnest attention. But the means employed for the realization of revenue were not such as recommend themselves to us now-a-days. By a formal enactment of 1811 the cultivation of tobacco except under license was made illegal in Malabar and Canara, (and soon after in Coimbatore also)—then as now the chief tobacco-producing districts of Madras, indeed of India. The price of tobacco was fixed by Government, its sale was entrusted to native officials appointed for the purpose, and the most severe penalties were enacted against contraband cultivation, import and export, while at every step of its course from the field to the consumer the leaf moved and had its being only under (native) official supervision. In the following year it was subjected by regulations to further duties, and in the next even the amount carried about by *bond fide* travellers

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was brought under surveillance—as if revenue from tobacco was a matter of pice! Translations of these enactments were made into all the languages of the Presidency and circulated by Government, but with about as much effect as the translation of any other enactment. So vexatious and searching a measure should never have been expected to succeed in such provinces as Malabar and Canara; and its failure half a century ago was not surprising. Year after year it had to be supplemented by regulations of local application, and yet in nine years, in 1820, the clandestine introduction of tobacco into Madras and the smuggling outrages, attended in many cases with loss of life, had become so serious as to compel the local Government to increase their expenditure by a very large amount for the maintenance of an armed preventive force and their code by another special act providing in a series of elaborate paragraphs, (constructed apparently on the basis that the sole aim of the native public is the benefit of the Government finances) for the secure storage of tobacco in districts where Europeans did not exist. And yet for twenty years more the Government continued to net annually its paltry three to six lakhs and corruption grew and flourished. It was impossible it should be otherwise. In the first place the rates had been fixed too high, in the second the districts producing the best tobacco saw their produce exported for the benefit of other and more paying markets, and in the third the districts to which the regulations were applied were so situated both as regards sea-board and Native States that smuggling and contraband export were carried on to an enormous extent with complete impunity. But at last these evils became too manifest to permit argument, and the monopoly was brought to the bar of an administration nearly two generations ahead in knowledge of the country of that which had created it. Tardily though the change was entertained, the mass of evidence for the prosecution was so overwhelming that Act (India) IV of 1853 was at once passed repealing the ill-judged regulations of 1811, and such portions of subsequent enactments as referred to the subject of tobacco. From Canara came the verdict that it was “most odious and highly oppressive,” that its collection caused “misery to thousands.” Coimbatore described how at irregular intervals the Government depôts were attacked and plundered by armed gangs who by their numbers overpowered the minority of the guard who were not in collusion with them. The Malabar authorities branded the measure as “a system by which lawless and desperate habits are engendered and fostered in the minds of large bodies of the people.” Cochin sent in a list of “extensive gang robberies,” one tobacco smuggler alone having 200 and odd persons in his service. Travancore was of opinion

that it was "a prolific source of crime." In short the Board of Revenue soon had such a 'well-selected assortment' of complaints before it that it reported to the Government its opinion that it was desirable to do away with "a monopoly which keeps some thousands of people in criminal opposition to the law; engendering at the same time loose and wandering habits which prevent their ever settling down as peaceable subjects; a monopoly which demoralizes a great body of our public servants who more or less will always connive at, if they do not share in, so profitable a traffic; a monopoly which leads at one time to vexatious domiciliary visitations and their attendant exactions, at another to violent and bloody collisions." Add to this the very serious increase of work thrown upon the courts, and the necessity imposed upon the Government, of maintaining a large and costly force of armed preventive officers and finally, the disparity between net revenue and gross collections,—during 1833 to 1843, the average annual collections were eight lakhs, the net revenue five—and the evidence for the prosecution was complete and crushing. So the monopoly was abolished. But is the failure of such a measure any argument against the consideration of tobacco as a proper object of taxation?

During the thirty years of its existence it had to be almost annually subjected to amendment and modification, but had finally to be abandoned; and yet it is by the remembrance of this that those who speak of the subject of tobacco revenue as exhausted, are guided. They know that at one time there was an extensive system for revenue collection from this article which in practice proved an utter failure, and on this knowledge, they vaguely condemn in general terms any interference with the people's tobacco. But, while remembering the fiasco of the Madras Monopoly, it would surely be only fair to bear in mind also some of the causes that led to its disgrace. Canara and Malabar sixty years ago were completely in the middle ages of our rule in India, quite innocent of the appliances of civilization. The people on their coasts were still lawless and, though conscious of a greater power, gave their first allegiance to local potentates with strangely sounding titles. Their ports had risen to such importance as they then possessed by a petty coasting trade of which tobacco was an important staple. It is needless to say that there were no railways for there were hardly roads. Was it surprising then that a most elaborate system of taxation held to be unjustified by any local exigencies, inexplicable for its apparently arbitrary incidence, and odious for its severity, should fail when suddenly thrust, even in the vernaculars, upon so wild a country? But the area of its incidence was by no means the least of the imperfections of the measure of 1811, for within itself it carried condemnation. The actual method of its application

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was atrocious. The tobacco was cut by its owner in the fields, was prepared by him and brought by him when prepared to the Government depôt. Hence it was distributed by the local native officials to the surrounding taluquas where the tehsildars, receiving a fixed commission for this work, either sold it in certain legalized amounts back to the ryots or disposed of it to licensed vendors, in short, got rid of it,—the vendors being prohibited 'by law' from charging an advance of more than 12 per cent on the Government price. It is quite unnecessary to point out the openings here offered to dishonesty at each step; suffice it to say that it was soon discovered by comparing receipts with collections and averages of production and consumption, that corruption on the most magnificent, the Cas Chitty, scale obtained throughout all grades of those concerned in the valuable monopoly. Not only therefore in the area of its incidence, but also in the actual method and character of the monopoly, is a ready explanation of its failure to be obtained. Its results throw additional light on the fiasco, and at the risk of being tedious I will notice them, for since the majority of objectors to tobacco-taxation argue from analogies drawn from very dissimilar facts, it is most important that their chief argument, the failure of a former attempt to 'exploit' tobacco, should be shewn to have no force when applied against such a measure as I would advocate. The results, then, were most disastrous, inasmuch as being left their own custodians, every official whom the tobacco passed made his profit out of it, and by so much, increased its price to the ultimate consumer. These accumulated exactions led to the decline of the legitimate and the increase of contraband cultivation—itsself followed by increased corruption of officials—while the high price of the lawful article led to discontent exhibited, not like the opposition to the Income Tax of recent date,—in correspondence in newspapers but, by serious riots. It led to a most extensive and formidable system of smuggling not only between districts but from coast to coast, from the Coromandel in the north to Travancore in the south, to Ceylon, Bengal and Burmah, and finally, to the upkeep of a costly preventive service, increasing largely the work of courts and diminishing by the price of its maintenance the already meagre returns of the measure. Even regarded financially the monopoly was not successful in its results. The total gross collections in the three most flourishing years of its existence, 1847-48-49, or after thirty-eight years of elaboration, were, 32 lakhs of rupees. The charges of collection aggregated during the same period 13 lakhs, leaving as net revenue 19 lakhs, from which has to be deducted the loss of revenue by the throwing up of lands and the spread of contraband cultivation with also the cost of the constant legal proceedings and the preventive force. Indeed when the sacrifice of morality, official and public, and of life is

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debited against it, the monopoly can hardly be held to have been remunerative.

Reference to the Madras Monopoly of 1811-50 cannot therefore, I would submit, be accepted as argument against the propriety of now realizing revenue from tobacco.

The next occasion on which Tobacco as a source of imperial revenue came before Government was after the mutinies. In the general dislocation of the joints of the country the finances, the sinews of the administration, were severely strained, and it became necessary to devise some extraordinary source of revenue to meet the extraordinary demands of the military department. Casting about for such a source the Government of India bethought it of tobacco, and by circular letter invited the attention of the local Governments to the subject—the invitation being vitiated as far as the value of the replies is concerned by the last paragraph of the letter, in which the Secretary writes: "I am instructed to convey the particular request of the Governor-General in Council that the *earliest possible* (the italics are official) reply may be made." The result was only what might have been expected—a batch of unlicked opinions, the very cubs of thought. Nearly every officer prefaced his reply with an apology for its incompleteness, excusing the crudity of his suggestions and the absurdity of his figures by the shortness of the time given for collecting information on an unknown subject! Worse than this, the particular line of enquiry was laid down by the Government of India which asked, not for an opinion as to the best method of taxing tobacco, but on one method only—"the levying of a special license duty on the sale of tobacco." It is true that in their reply those officers who considered this method the most obnoxious of all and unworthy of any attention, passed opinions upon others which recommended themselves in preference to it, but they wrote apologetically and with reserve, excusing themselves for swerving from the line laid down for them. Such enquiry can hardly be called adequate when it is considered how very intricate a question tobacco in India is. As regards *Bengal*, the Lieutenant-Governor contented himself with expressing his opinion that the licensing idea was altogether abominable, and the first member of the Board of Revenue, premising that "these remarks are very hastily drawn up as I have only been able to give the Bill most imperfect consideration," also condemned the license duty: the second member in ten lines "considers the measure very judicious," adding "as I have been called upon to make 'the *earliest possible* reply,' I have been unable to consider the matter as fully as I wish to do:" the third member in a few vague sentences 'surmises,' 'assumes,' and 'thinks' that 'perhaps' the licensing might be feasible. As regards the *Punjab*, the Lieutenant-Governor did no more than

forward the replies of the Judicial and Assistant Commissioners of Lahore and the Commissioner of Delhi. The former regretting that he has not been able to get the information wanted returns, instead some statistics of population, and the latter follows suit, neither of them expressing an original opinion. The Commissioner of Delhi replied by telegram! But the most grotesque is the reply from *Madras*. Premising that "in anticipation of information regarding tobacco being called for, the Government in April last had called upon Collectors for reports; the Board goes on to say "these replies had not yet (July) been received, but those which reached the Board gave results so much at variance with each other, that it is clear that little reliance can be placed on them." The office records "afforded no information on the point under consideration," so the Board "consulted some of the chief tobacco merchants of Madras" as to the expediency of taxing tobacco—and in half a page gave the results of the discussion. And this was the outcome of the thought of a Presidency on a most important fiscal measure! The replies from *Bombay* were more creditable but hardly more valuable, for starting with an expression of hope that the licensing idea may be abandoned, each and every of the writers proceeds to say what he can in favour of it and to explain by what means it may be made as little obnoxious as possible. One special point was given them to express their opinions upon and they express their opinions on that point; but was it not a public misfortune that when such a source of revenue was under discussion, the intelligence of experienced officers should be thus miserably cramped? Had the time for the reply been a month instead of a week and the subject the general question of tobacco taxation, the result would have been an invaluable collection of new ideas and matured opinions. As it was, the Government appealed to its leading officers thus: "We want money: what rate of license will tobacco bear? answer within a week." And the answers that came were of three kinds—1. "The idea of licensing the sale cannot be seriously entertained." 2. "We have had no time to think about it." 3. "There is no information on the subject available, but suppose we say so-and-so." And yet this was the second and last time of the consideration by Government of tobacco as a source of imperial revenue. Can it then be fairly said that the question has been adequately considered?

In the above I have not noticed the replies from the *North-West Provinces*, because they are worthy of separate notice and because from them depends the scheme for revenue realization which I would venture to recommend for adoption. This scheme proceeds on the assumption that no other is practicable. How far the assumption is justifiable it is for me to shew, and I will commence

with the licensing of sales. Sir George Couper was in 1860 Secretary to the Government of the North-West Provinces and the first letter is from him. Premising that the time for enquiry was inadequate and no information on the subject was to hand, he proceeds to condemn the spirit license duty, and then goes on to suggest some tentative rates "determined more on conjecture than by any reliable data which, as above stated, are not available." Mr. Lowe, then Secretary to the Board of Revenue, follows with a letter in which while assenting to the scheme of Government, he points out the complex nature of the trade on which it was proposed to levy a license duty, so complex indeed as to make the suggested measure intricate almost to impracticability. Mr. Inglis contributes a valuable paper from Bareilly in which he demonstrates the unsuitability to tobacco of a system of sale licenses. Most of the traders and wealthier citizens who now support a number of tobacco-wallahs by this custom are, as he shows, also landholders, and were a License Act passed they would of course grow their own tobacco. They would make presents in tobacco to their dependents, their poor relations, probably pay a portion of their servants' wages and even make the leaf do duty as currency in their actual business. The consequent decrease in the number of customers would diminish the number of dealers and therefore of licenses. Again, he says, "At present all the cultivators in the district are dealers in tobacco. When their crop is ripe they sell a quantity sufficient to enable them to pay their rent. Are they to be considered retail dealers and compelled to take out licenses?" More arguments of equal weight are brought forward to condemn the scheme, but as I shall revert to them later on it will suffice now to quote Mr. Inglis' summing up. "From these considerations it will appear that a tax on tobacco, if imposed in the form of a license on the dealer, would be constantly and easily evaded; that it would yield a very small return; that it would have a constant tendency to diminish by decreasing the number of dealers; that it would leave untaxed four-fifths of the smoking population and would ultimately fall solely on the army or the police, on artisans in Government employ, and on men in Government service; that there would be much difficulty in classifying the dealers for the purpose of taxing them; that its first and most certain operation would be to close the market which at present exists for home-grown tobacco, and that in order to prevent smuggling and evasion of the tax a large and expensive preventive establishment would be required which would diminish the profits to Government." Mr. Freeling, then Collector of Boolundshuhur, is more emphatic, for he commences his letter with the following:—"I gather from the letter of the Secretary that the Government of India have already decided that

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the tax must be imposed in the form of a license on sales, and therefore I fear my remarks will be considered inapplicable. Still, as I believe that such a scheme which evidently originates in a state of things existent in Bengal and not so in these Provinces, must be a failure and cannot be made to produce the required revenue, I venture to point out the reasons that lead me to that conclusion.* It is not however necessary for my purpose to follow the writer further. Mr. Strachey, then at Moradabad, follows with information collected for him by a native official, premising that "notwithstanding the haste with which the enquiry has been made, some reliance may be placed on the facts." The next letter is from Mr. Roberts, then Commissioner of the Rohilcund Division; who agreeing with the others that the selection of a license on dealers was unfortunate, is further of opinion that the rates suggested are excessive. Mr. Fleetwood Williams having "neither trustworthy data nor the means of collecting them in time" supports the Government scheme in six lines, on the theory that let the State impose what it may, "the trade will accommodate itself to it!" Mr. Court, then of Allahabad, cannot agree with the Government and finishes his very short note with the following:—"As my opinion was to be delivered *within one day*, I have been obliged to deliver it crude and undigested." Mr. Gubbins at Agra concludes the series with a most valuable memorandum embodying the data collected by him during his long acquaintance with abkaree and subjects connected with it. His support of the Government scheme was therefore of much weight, were it not that in the last paragraph he gave it as his opinion that a better scheme would be a tobacco tax "by a duty on the spot where the tobacco is grown;" and that the best of all would be to apply the Abkaree system to tobacco. Thus then it will be seen that (with the exception of Mr. Fleetwood Williams) all the leading officers of the North-West Provinces condemned the scheme for licensing dealers in tobacco, and it may be considered condemned. But while each writer takes exception to a particular form of taxation, all agree as to the propriety of taxing tobacco. Thus Mr. Inglis considering a license on dealers impracticable suggests a license on cultivation. Mr. Freeling, agreeing with him as to the impracticability of the license on dealers, advocates a tax on the dry leaf. Mr. Roberts, regretting that it is unnecessary since Government had already made up its mind to suggest alternatives, supports Mr. Inglis in his preference, while Mr. Gubbins writes to prove that while licensing the dealer it is just possible it would be better either to apply the

* Messrs. Inglis and Freeling agree in condemning the licensing of dealers, but each suggests a different alternative. Mr. Inglis a license on cultivation, Mr. Freeling a tax on the dry leaf.

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Abkaree system to tobacco or levy a duty on it on the spot. All are agreed as to the propriety of realizing revenue from tobacco, but, having in a few days to make 'up' their minds on a most complex subject, cannot agree as to the best method, each in turn condemning the suggestion of the other on the same grounds—the *extremely intricate nature of the tobacco trade*. Upon this, indeed, turns the whole question, for the intricacies of the trade baffle the advocates of ordinary methods of taxation. But to bring out this clearly it is necessary to give a sketch of the method of cultivation, preparation, and sale which obtain, for from the differences which obtain becomes impossible even by an elaborated scale of differential rates to make the incidence of a tax equitable. Further on I make a suggestion which, by taking advantage of the tobacco at its earliest stage and before it has entered upon any of the numerous phases which afterwards complicate it, simplifies the subject so very materially that a single measure, and that an inelastic one, will comprehensively embrace it and make the realization of revenue from tobacco a matter of the smallest difficulty. Meanwhile to prove the impracticability of extending to this drug the system of licenses on sales or dealers, wholesale or retail, I will briefly notice the circumstances of the tobacco trade, confining myself by preference to that of the North-West Provinces and Oudh. As each of the other divisions has its own system, any confusion of them would hopelessly confuse this article.

The North-West Provinces procures its tobacco from two sources, cultivation and importation, the article obtained by each differing from the other in quality and therefore price, and being each of them of several qualities and several prices. By cultivation the provinces obtain the 'deysee' tobacco which though as a rule of very inferior description has fairly defined degrees of popularity. Generally speaking the districts to the east of the Jumna produce better tobacco than those to the west and command better prices: notably the produce of Bustee Goruckpore and Oudh. Even in the Allahabad Division one locality—Soraon—(east of the Jumna) produces a more popular tobacco than any other, and is sold in the city of Allahabad at half an anna the seer dearer than the leaf of the other districts of the division. It is evident then that to tax the sales equitably a very nicely drawn scale of differential rates would be necessary. But it is not only in the differences of prices obtaining between the products of the eastern and western districts, between Oudh and the North-West Provinces generally, and between particular district and district that the difficulty of a tax on retail sale is demonstrated, for from the cultivation and sale very peculiar difficulties arise. Thus in the North-West Provinces the rent of land for tobacco cultivation

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varies most extraordinarily from 6 to 40 rupees per beegah, for by tradition certain land—determined by its site and the character of the water in the neighbourhood—and only certain land is cultivated with tobacco. The kachee in many places will not put in a plough unless he is sure of his "*khari pani*," and the result is that such patches command fancy prices (in the Cawnpore Municipality's limits for instance) which in assessing a retail tax would have to be considered. Moreover tobacco is not a crop like any other in its distribution, for it is grown only in insignificant patches so small often that the produce never goes to a market at all. The cultivator lays by a store for his own consumption, barter some of the rest for other country produce, and places the balance to his credit with the nearest bunnia in whose books he may be. Tobacco, in fact, is among the agricultural population what it was years ago in Virgiuia, a *currency*, and without being offered for sale circulates as a money medium in the immediate neighbourhood of its cultivation. What use then could a tax on the sale be if a moiety of the crop leaked away in dribblets before it reached any market? When speaking of Moradabad in 1860, Sir J. Strachey wrote: "There are small patches of tobacco in almost every village, but there are no large cultivators." And again: "Little of the district tobacco is sold for cash. The cultivators barter it in the villages for other articles of produce." And this applies pretty generally to all the North-West Provinces, for as the tobacco grown there has almost a uniform standard of inferiority, the cultivator finds it to his advantage *not* to offer his produce to competition in the markets. He gets more money's worth in grain from the owner of the next field. Where the tobacco of a district, say Baraitch, is acknowledged as above the average, the contrary of course obtains, for the producer exports his tobacco and contents himself with the inferior article obtained by importation. It would not, therefore, be possible for Government, however careful its supervision, to prevent the operation of a direct tax being unfair, for the quality of the various tobaccos could never be discovered except by the confession of the owner, and the invariable result would be the higher rate being imposed on the inferior article and *vice versa*. Besides, the working of such a procedure would virtually be controlled by the Magistrates' chuprassies.

In the mode of sale will also be found a very serious difficulty, for the taxing of tobacco unless most carefully supervised would be a direct transit duty. Tobacco when it is exported from district to district does not go for sale. It is sent for *preparation*. Thus Chunar at one time could command the highest prices for its prepared tobaccos, but these would have been ruinously enhanced had the leaf been taxed.

on entering the city over and above the ordinary octroi and then had to pay again as it passed out in the shape of prepared tobacco. For just as there are distinct varieties of the leaf, so are there distinct varieties of the prepared article. Chunar still obtains a high price for its hookah tobacco: Lucknow 'nawabee' is very expensive, fetching several rupees a seer, and no official staff could be trusted to pronounce upon the respective value of each. Corruption would be so profitable that it would certainly be universal. In all the above I refer only to the home-grown produce, and it is manifest that when to the complications arising from the varieties I have briefly noticed are added also the complications arising from an equally variable import trade, the taxation of the sale of tobacco becomes most awkward, indeed so intricate as to defy manipulation. The import trade is nearly altogether from the east, the neighbourhood of Patna contributing largely. Tirhoot generally supplies a large quantity: the produce of Gya is well-known at Allahabad, and Shahabad sends westward a considerable quantity. This imported tobacco enters the North-West Provinces where the Ganges leaves them, travels up the river past Ghazepore, Chunar, Benares, Mirzapore, to Allahabad, there divides with the streams and goes away westward to Cawnpore or Etawah, Agra or Furruckabad. At each emporium large quantities are landed which on the byaries' pad-bullocks are distributed in maund-bales among the district towns whence the tamooles, punsarees, tumaku-wallahs *et id genus omne* carry it in half packages to the bunnyas in the streets and the bhooteerahs in the *serais*, its price rising as it travels and changing according to the methods of its preparation.

Proceeding then on the assumption that the complex nature of tobacco transactions is proved, and that three of the methods suggested for securing a revenue from tobacco are impracticable, it only remains to discuss—1. The increase of the land tax on ground under tobacco. 2. A license on the cultivation. 3. The monopoly of cultivation; and 4. The extension to tobacco of the Abkarree system. The first two of these are virtually identical, as whether you tax the tobacco grown or the tobacco land, the levy falls upon the same individual. Of both it is only necessary to say that, the question of policy apart, a needless sacrifice of revenue is incurred, and if in realizing revenue its amount is an element of importance, this objection should have considerable weight. There being in neither of them any peculiarities of construction or application, they need not be further discussed. The third 'the monopoly of cultivation' would necessitate the extension to tobacco of the system under which at present revenue is realized from opium, which is approximately as follows:—The settlements of the department are made annually, from July to September,

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licenses of 'lumbers' being made out in the names of the most respectable cultivator of each village, elected it may be by the assamees themselves, or nominated officially. He is the go-between or representative of all his sub-cultivators, and as a rule all money transactions between them and Government are through him. If possible, the lands comprised in a license are confined to one village and it is thought better not to allow them to exceed 20 or 25 beegahs. There are many cases when the lands of one license have to be scattered over a good many villages and frequently there are several licenses in one village. As a rule, the first advances (July and September) are made simultaneously with the final payments for the opium produced and weighed in during the preceding weightment season, April and May (on delivery of the drug, a small balance is held back, pending the Opium Examiner's report, etc.) These advances have until recently been paid at the rate of Rs. 4 per beegah, but now the lands are classified and the advances are based on the quality of the land supposed to be in the possession of the cultivator and his character as a good assamee—lands producing from one to two seers of opium per beegah getting an advance of Rs. 4, from two to four Rs. 6, and those above this Rs. 8, the maximum. The adjustment of these rates is of course left to the discretion of the officer. A lumberdar who took out a license for, say 20 beegahs, would in all probability have 40 sub-cultivators, and supposing he got an advance of Rs. 90, he would advance to his assamees at the same rate. It often happens that the lumberdar is unable to get the full quantity of land engaged brought under cultivation, and in such cases he either returns a portion of the advance or retains it as an advance to himself. If he produces opium sufficient to cover this advance, well and good; but if not, it is held as a balance against him personally which he has to refund.

This system it is evident could be applied very completely to tobacco, for the resemblance between the crops is considerable. But an objection which seems to me insuperable is the necessity that would arise for a costly Tobacco Department with its agents and numerous deputies and sub-deputies. It would differ from the opium in that instead of factories for the preparation of the opium, Government would have to provide a great series of 'palatial' store-houses to each of which would have to be attached a very large staff of native subordinates. Nevertheless the income would be very considerable, and if the scheme is considered favourably it will be no more than it deserves. But personally I would deprecate the immense initial outlay and the establishment of another department providing unlimited opportunities for corruption.

As regards the extension to tobacco of the Abkarree system

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its advocates must admit that the same reason, the intricacies of the trade, which proved fatal to schemes for licensing the sale, militates also very considerably against this. It is true that every licence-holder would become virtually an Abkarree officer, but with even such interested supervision I doubt if tobacco would be found manageable. At any rate it cannot be gainsaid but that the department has not as yet been able to cope effectively with the illicit liquor traffic or to prevent its steady increase. Were such an additional charge as tobacco confided to it, it could hardly, unless the number of its officers were quadrupled, efficiently discharge its duties. Allowing, however, that the Abkarree Department could succeed in extracting revenue from tobacco, I consider that such a conclusion to the question would not be justifiable, inasmuch as by the method I advocate a very much larger revenue could be collected. If it be admitted that tobacco is a proper subject for development into a source of revenue, it can hardly be denied that it is as well to choose that method by which the largest sum will be fairly realized. This also granted, the extension to tobacco of both the opium and the Abkarree systems stands condemned. All the rival systems are therefore out of the field; and in their place I would introduce another, for the monopoly of the wholesale purchase and sale of country-grown tobacco.

Before doing so, however, it remains to make good the premiss that the taxation of tobacco is necessary. A few persons conscientiously believe that the land is already overtaxed and a very large number echo their cry—"The land wants rest," without really having any opinion on the matter, and hoping, like the sepia in a squirt of ink, to escape consideration of the subject under cover of a somewhat flabby philanthropy. The let-alone policy has therefore two classes of advocates,* the few thinkers who, overworked themselves, are ready to forego a possibly advantageous change rather than disturb afresh a people becoming reconciled to a bad lot, and the many talkers who largely moved thereto by idleness deprecate interference with existing arrangements on the vague ground that change would be "mischievous." Lord Northbrook has declared that so long as the revenue suffices to meet expenditure, he does not feel justified in entertaining schemes for additional taxation. This is a 'broad principle' which must command respect; but even I of four years' residence in India have seen broad principles excellent in themselves quoted in justification of most narrow policy. And in pushing the theory of let-moderately-well-alone too far as regards revenue realization, the Government

* This article was in type before the "India-wants-rest" theory reached the *Pall Mall Gazette's* remarks on this country.

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runs the risk of perpetuating a great fiscal scandal. For what is it but a scandal that our financiers, scraping pice, pice off the poorest men's incomes (under such names as of Pandhri), pice off fagots of wood and wheels and cow-dung, making for economy's sake our jails into schools of industry, and our penal settlement a felon's Arcadia, have neglected the lakhs of rupees that lie under their hands from a tax on tobacco? That they *have* neglected it, the first portion of this paper proves, for inadequate and perfunctory consideration is just as much neglect as faint praise is damning. And is the subject to be always neglected? Because Lord Northbrook has passed his word that taxation shall not be excessive, are schemes devised for the purpose of ameliorating the popular burdens to be dismissed as "mischievous"? I hope not, for though firmness in inaction when the consequences of action are uncertain may be admirable, it becomes obstinacy as soon as the change is shown to be for the good of the country. And I am of opinion, being supported therein by the many respected officers whose names I have mentioned in the course of this paper, that the taxation of tobacco is proper, and that properly carried out the measure would be most beneficial, for, with the large income regularly available from it added to the yearly revenue, the Government could afford to curtail petty taxation. I consider then that the taxation of tobacco is necessary, inasmuch as it is the aim of the administration to harass the tax-payer as little as possible, and inasmuch as the Government would be able, were a large revenue from this source available, to reduce the irritation which in the opinion of the best informed officials in the country our multitude of small and searching imposts has created. A tobacco tax equal in its incidence and simple in application would, to descend from the general to the particular, enable the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces to abolish the Pandhri tax—as abominable to him as vexatious to the taxed. Such a scheme I venture to consider the following would be if elaborated by those who are conversant with the mysteries of revenue administration. I will give the scheme first in the form of an imaginary enactment for the **MONOPOLY BY THE STATE OF THE WHOLESALE PURCHASE AND SALE OF COUNTRY-GROWN TOBACCO.**

"Whereas it is expedient that the Government should derive a revenue from tobacco—an article of luxury rather than a necessary, of vast consumption and recognised by the people as a legitimate source of imperial revenue—the Governor-General in Council is pleased to sanction the following regulations for the cultivation and sale of tobacco throughout British India:—

"1. The cultivation of tobacco, except under special license, is forbidden under penalty of confiscation of the crop.

"2. The special license shall be granted to any applicant free of cost, but it shall bind the said applicant to bring under tobacco cultivation not less ground than produces at an average crop—maunds, and shall also bind him to sell his crop when called upon to the local authorities at the average local rates of sale. On each license shall be declared the exact amount which the cultivator binds himself to produce.

"3. All the crops shall, when four months grown, be bought by the local authorities at a rate calculated upon the average of the rates obtaining in the locality during the five preceding years.

"4. In paying the purchase-money to the cultivator the local authorities shall hold over one-third of the sum due to him as a security that the crop shall be duly cared for until maturity, a bond being taken from the cultivator that he will so tend it. Any negligence on his part bring with it forfeiture of the security.

"5. When approaching maturity the crops while standing shall be publicly sold (not by auction but) in lots of not less than—maunds to any applicant able to pay the whole amount at once. The division of estates to be at the discretion of authorities guided by the convenience of the purchaser."

"6. The rate at which it shall be sold shall be fixed at that at which it was bought from the cultivator + —per cent, the said—per cent to represent the imperial revenue.

"7. Each purchaser shall, on conclusion of purchase, receive a license. The said license to exempt the tobacco bought by him from all duties whatsoever in transit from the place of purchase to any market within the limits of British India also to guarantee the delivery to the purchaser of the full quantity of his purchase in sound condition, also to bind the purchaser to resell his tobacco at market rates.

"8. The market rates of tobacco shall be calculated at the prices paid by the dealer to Government + —per cent, the said—per cent to represent the profits of the dealer, and these market rates shall be enforced; any advance thereon subjecting the dealer to severe penalties.

"9. When the crops are ready, the full amount guaranteed by the cultivator in his license shall be taken from his fields, the residue to remain his own property if not exceeding—maunds; above—maunds the residue to become the property of Government.

"10. When the crop is cut it becomes the property of the purchaser from Government on whom shall devolve all subsequent supervision of curing, &c. As the crop for the native market is cured in a month after harvest, the purchaser from Government shall not after the expiration of that period, have any power to

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expect from the cultivator any care of the leaf, nor any right to encumber the cultivator's premises with his property.

"Provided.—That sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10 be printed on the cultivators' licenses, and that Sections 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10 be printed on the purchasers' licenses, and that Section 8 be published as widely as official influence can make possible.

"Provided.—That every officer shall exercise a wide discretion in deciding whether suits regarding tobacco are vexatious and brought into court on insufficient grounds, and that when such is considered to be the case, the severest penalties shall be inflicted, as unless prompt check is given to this species of litigation it would certainly multiply beyond reasonable limits."

Each section of the above will bear a few words of explanation and comment.

"Whereas it is expedient that the Government should derive a revenue from tobacco—an article of luxury rather than a necessary, of vast consumption and recognised by the people as a legitimate source of imperial revenue—the Governor-General in Council is pleased to sanction the following regulations for the cultivation and sale of tobacco throughout British India:—

Tobacco is recognised as an article suitable for taxation not only by the leading European officials, but by non-official Europeans and natives. I have before me two letters from leading native merchants of Allahabad, one of whom says in reply to an enquiry from myself: "Tobacco is a proper article to levy a tax on and must yield a large revenue. The people would be accustomed * to it"; the other says: "It is a good thing to tax this article, and people will not give up tobacco for its duty, only the duty must not be made too much in the first instance, but will allow of being increased year after year." A non-official European writes (I quote from his letter before me): "A tax on tobacco is one that would be free from many of the abuses incidental to taxation, and it cannot be denied that tobacco is a legitimate source from which to obtain revenue." Tobacco is also an article 'of vast consumption.' The taxable population of India is 180 millions, of whom at least 25 millions consume each two rupees' worth of tobacco in the year. I would at first increase the price of the article by so much as would add eight

* The writer has not an extensive meant "will not think it an unusual English Vocabulary and probably tax."

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annas to his yearly tobacco bill and realize in the first year £1,200,000 nor could this increase of 20 per cent be considered harsh, for it represents to the consumer a tax paid at his own convenience in instalments spread over twelve months.

In the Punjab the revenue would, in proportion to the population, be smaller than elsewhere, but fortunately the importation of Cabul tobacco would do something towards restoring equality of receipts. There are, I am well aware, thousands of agriculturists, consumers of tobacco, so poor that they do not see a rupee of their own once a month; but the all-important fact must be remembered that these men pay their way as well as are paid in produce, and that any small huckster will take grain in payment for tobacco.

• “1. *The cultivation of tobacco, except under special license, is forbidden under penalty of confiscation of the crop.*”

A very material safeguard against illicit cultivation is provided by nature, for the tobacco crop is one that cannot be concealed. From a letter before me I quote: “Any one riding out in the districts of the North-West Provinces after the middle of February, will be sure to notice a plant with very large leaves growing on the bits of lands near the villages through which he may pass: from that date till May it is the one bright green crop that relieves the eye. This is the tobacco plant.” Besides as it is generally grown near villages or wells its illicit cultivation would at once convict the local sub-officials of connivance.

“2. *The special license shall be granted to any applicant free of cost, but it shall bind the said applicant to bring under tobacco cultivation not less ground than produces at an average crop—maunds, and shall also bind him to sell his crop when called upon to the local authorities at the average local rates of sale. On each license shall be declared the exact amount which the cultivator binds himself to produce.*”

I would fix the minimum of production high in order that for facility of calculation and collection of revenue there might be as few cultivators as possible. The cultivator, it should be noted, would keep within his license, for he could not expect to dispose of the contraband surplus at such a remunerative price as he was sure of from Government for the legal yield. No one would risk the penalty of confiscation of the crop “to oblige a neighbour.”

• “3. *All the crops shall, when four months grown, be bought by the local authorities at a rate calculated upon the average of the rates obtaining in the locality during the five preceding years.*”

“5. *When approaching maturity the crops while standing shall be publicly sold (not by auction but) in lots of not less*

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than—maunds to any applicant able to pay the whole amount at once. The divisions of estates to be at the discretion of authorities guided by the convenience of the purchaser."

"9. When the crops are ready, the full amount guaranteed by the cultivator in his license shall be taken from his fields, the residue to remain his own property if not exceeding—maunds; above—maunds the residue to become the property of Government."

In these sections is brought out the principle of the Act which I have supposed to exist, *viz.*, the simplification of the subject by carrying on all money transactions while the crop is green. By acting on this principle no opportunity of falsifying returns would be given, for for one-half of the time it would not be to the interest of the cultivator to be dishonest, and after that the purchaser from Government would take every care that his own interests were not assailed. In this policy of altogether arranging for the realization of revenue from tobacco while it is still in the field, will be found a most complete safeguard against ordinary corruption, while the intricacies which complicate the subject at later stages will be escaped.

I would fix the minimum amount of each lot purchasable as high as practicable in order to compensate the wholesale dealers for the arbitrary market rates laid down, by virtually giving them the local monopoly of the tobacco trade. Besides, for all revenue purposes it would be well to have as few purchasers as possible.

"4. In paying the purchase-money to the cultivator the local authorities shall hold over one-third of the sum due to him as a security that the crop shall be duly cared for until maturity, a bond being taken from the cultivator that he will so tend it. Any negligence on his part to bring with it forfeiture of the security."

This is a feature borrowed from the system obtaining in the present opium monopoly, and will be found of great importance in the practical working of my scheme.

"6. The rate at which it shall be sold shall be fixed at that at which it was bought from the cultivator plus—per cent, the said—per cent to represent the imperial revenue."

As I have shown above I would increase the cost of tobacco to the consumer 20 per cent. This cannot be considered hard on even the very poorest, for the few annas which each would have to pay annually would be divided into some sixteen instalments, even supposing the purchaser paid for the leaf in cash. And while some could complain, a very great number would directly benefit by the scheme I propose, for the licensed cultivators, many thousand of persons, would obtain their own tobacco free of cost, would

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be secured against future capricious changes of land revenue, and would be assured for the whole of their produce a certain sale at remunerative prices, all in one transaction and to one trustworthy and honourable customer. This positive security of profitable sale is alone an enormous benefit, and under the operation of this Act the tobacco-cultivating community would very rapidly rise in social status. Moreover, the people generally would be benefited by such a scheme as I propose, for the revenue realizable would enable Government to remove those petty imposts which at a maximum of chuprassy-oppression bring in a minimum of revenue to the State.

"7. *Each purchaser shall, on conclusion of purchase, receive a license. The said license to exempt the tobacco bought by him from all duties whatsoever in transit from the place of purchase to any market within the limits of British India, also to guarantee the delivery to the purchaser of the full quantity of his purchase in sound condition, also to bind the purchaser to resell his tobacco at market rates.*"

I would, I think, exempt tobacco that had been purchased from Government from all duties whether imperial or local, at any rate I would so exempt it during the first year of the working of the Act. Anything tending to simplify a measure popularizes it, and I believe that if a *rowannah* carried tobacco (that had been purchased from Government) free all over the country, the trade would be regarded very favourably by native merchants. The main object of our legislation should be simplicity, for every provision entails the employment of additional subordinate officials, and in this country, roundly speaking, every subordinate official up to a certain standing is dishonest.

"8. *The market rates of tobacco shall be calculated at the price paid by the dealer to Government plus—per cent, the said—per cent to represent the profits of the dealer, and these market rates shall be enforced; any advance thereon subjecting the dealer to severe penalties.*"

It would be very difficult to limit the profits of dealers, but this might to a large extent be managed by careful publication of a tobacco *nerick*. Further, prohibitive prices would in their own interest be avoided by the dealers.

Such briefly are the provisions of the measure I would introduce. Their simplicity is manifest, but it is for others who have the honour to be in the service of Government to decide if they are practicable. The essential features of the scheme are ; *first*, the avoidance of subordinate interference in the transactions between Government and the cultivator, and Government and the purchaser, and *second*, the transaction of all business while the leaf is still in the field.

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Independent States will of course present a difficulty, but I think I am not wrong in saying that the relations of Government towards its feudatories is yearly increasing in cordiality and sympathy of thought and action. Were the scheme favourably viewed in British India, Native India would adopt it also and co-operate for its effective working; and even were our interest imperilled it is surely within the license of the Government to take such steps as should compel protection of them. Nor should it be overlooked that the importation from Native States is not of any serious dimensions, and that the imported tobacco is the luxury of the rich and reaches its markets by one or two well-known roads. It might therefore be easily arrested on our frontiers.

In conclusion I would draw notice to the fact that tobacco as a source of State revenue is now attracting attention. In Madras, Messrs. Broughton and Robertson are doing valuable service in keeping the matter prominently before the Government. Travancore promises to develop a great industry, for first attempts with Manilla tobacco have been so successful that the cultivation on a largely increased scale has been undertaken, and if the produce of the future equals in quality the fine leaf grown last year, there can be no doubt that the export of Manilla cigars will rapidly enrich "the model State." In Bombay, the excellence of the Sindhi tobacco is well known to the local officials, and were attention turned to more systematic cultivation the trade in Shiraz tobacco should soon assume very valuable proportions. In the North-Western Provinces the Board of Revenue has more than once had the subject of tobacco cultivation and "exploitation" before it, and there is now available a very considerable store of information on a subject of what a year ago there was absolutely nothing known. Finally, the Department of Agriculture is considering tobacco cultivation, and statistics are now being collected with a view to deciding on the propriety of departmental enterprise in this direction. For myself I believe that enquiry could not be better directed, for I feel convinced that a magnificent source of revenue is being neglected,—a source, moreover, which for its development requires a procedure of the most singular simplicity, calling for no initial outlay, the creation of no new appointments and, while handsomely supplementing the income of the State, neither interfering with the customs of the country, nor subjecting the people to oppression by subordinates.

It is of course for those to whom the fiscal administration of the country is entrusted to decide upon the advisability of adopting measures for realizing revenue from tobacco; but I would venture to submit that looking forward to the day when we may be suddenly thrown back upon our esoteric sources of revenue for the expenses of Government during a critical period, remembering that

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the cultivation of opium is very rapidly increasing in China that the latest word of our geologists forbids us to hope for wealth from our mineral resources, and that as far as can be judged at present the bulk of the Central Asian trade has permanently gone from us,—the subject of this paper is one that has claims upon serious attention.

The revenue would be magnificent, its collection inexpensive, simple and inoppressive.

PHIL. ROBINSON.

ART. IX.—A FRAGMENT OF INDIAN HISTORY.

FROM THE LATIN OF JOHANNES DE LAËT, 1631.

1.—*Translator's Preface.*

N EARLY three years have elapsed since I introduced to the notice of the readers of the *Calcutta Review*, the *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* of Johannes De Laët—an ancient Latin work on India, printed in Holland in 1631. The author was in his time a well-known and highly-esteemed writer on geographical and historical subjects; and was one of the first Directors of the Dutch East India Company. He derived the materials of his Indian writings from Peter Van Den Broeck, the pioneer of the Dutch trade in the East and for many years Chief of the Dutch factory at Sûrat. Owing partly to the extreme rarity of the work, of which it is probable that only a few copies were ever printed by the Elzevirs at Leyden, and partly perhaps to the fact of its being written in Latin, the *De Imperio* had apparently entirely escaped the attention of writers on Indian antiquities. In my introduction to the first chapter, on the Topography of the Mughul Empire in the time of Akbar and Jahángir, I ventured to claim for De Laët's statements the highest authority as being an absolutely contemporaneous record, written by European scholars of unimpeachable veracity, who possessed better sources of information than fell to the lot of any other early European writers. I am glad to find that this belief has been verified by the testimony of every work that has since appeared on the early Mughul period. De Laët's book has been largely quoted and used by Mr. Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Rathán Kings of Dekli* and his *Revenues of the Mughul Emperors*, by Professor Blochmann in his notes on the *Ain-i-Akbari*, by Dr. Hunter, and by many other writers, during the past two years. And although the discovery of two other copies of this remarkable Elzevir, one in Calcutta and another in London, has proved that I was mistaken in regarding the copy used by me as unique; the great rarity of the book has now been placed beyond all doubt. I therefore confidently hope that, in offering the readers of this *Review* a translation of a further portion, I may, be materially enlarging the area of authentic information on this interesting period.

The Tenth Chapter of the *De Imperio*, to which I shall now confine my attention, is probably the most important and valuable part of the book. It is entitled *A Fragment of Indian History, which we have received from some of our country men and translated from Dutch into Latin*. The informant here alluded to was, as I have said, the Dutch factor at Sûrat,

who was an eye-witness of some of the events described by him, and very nearly connected with many more. The "fragment" covers the period from the defeat of Humáyún by Sher Shúr in 1540, to the first year of Sháh Jahán's reign, 1628. When it is remembered that Van Den Broeck was Director of the Dutch factories at Súrat in 1620, and that this account of his was actually printed at Leyden in 1631, only three years after the close of the chronicle, its claims on our respectful attention are obvious.

It seems to me that it is almost impossible to exaggerate the historical importance of a contemporaneous narrative of this kind, which gives a fairly minute account of the events of the time, from a point of view entirely different from that of former narratives. And this is perhaps especially true in the present case; for the writers who are the standard authorities for the reigns of Humáyún, Akbar, and Jahángir, are with hardly an exception almost avowedly panegyrists.

The chief original authorities for the reign of Humáyún are Firishtah, Jauhar (author of the *Memoirs of Humáyún*), and Abul Fazl. Of these, Firishtah is (according to Professor Cowell) "particularly defective at this period;" and Erskine thinks that both he and Abul Fazl "try to disguise or conceal" everything that is not to the credit of the monarch. Of Jauhar, who was a menial servant of Humáyún, Elphinstone says—"He was devoted to Humáyún, and anxious to put all his actions in the most favourable light."

The authorities generally used for Akbar's reign* are Firishtah, Abul Fazl, Abdul Kádir Badáoni (who quotes largely from Nizám-ud-dín's *Tabaqát-i-Akbari*), and Kháfi Khán. Of Abul Fazl, Elphinstone says:—"He was a most assiduous courtier, eager to extol the virtues, to gloss over the crimes, and to preserve the dignity of his master and those in whom he was interested." Badáoni's account is an incomplete one, extending only to the thirty-seventh year of the reign, at which point Nizám-ud-dín's work ends. Kháfi Khán's history, though of course of the highest value, was not compiled until the time of Bahádur Sháh. An admirable illustration of the value of De Laët's independent narrative, may be found in his account of the death of Akbar, which I shall notice in its proper place; and which, whether true

* Professor Blochmann says, in his notes on the *Ain-i-Akbari* "I would remark here that as long as we have no translation of all the sources for a history of Akbar's reign, European historians should make the *Savánih-i-Akbari* the basis of their labours. . . . This work

is perhaps the only critical historical work written by a native, and confirms an opinion which I have elsewhere expressed, that those portions of Indian History for which we have several sources, are full of the most astounding discrepancies as to details."

or not, is very different from anything that could have been written about it by a partial historian.

The chief authorities for the reign of Jahángir are the antbiographical *Mémoires* of the Emperor himself, the *Tuzuk-i-Jahángirí* and Kháfí Khán. For this period we also get other independent European testimony, such as the narratives of Sir Thomas Roe and others; but nothing, I believe, approaching De Laët's account in point of detail. The reign of Jahángir alone occupies two-thirds of the whole *Fragment*; and gives a minute descriptions of the current events happening in the country, as far as they were known to the Dutch at Súrat.

The *Fragment* is prefaced by an address to the reader, wherein the author asks him to observe three things: *first*, that his translation from the Dutch, though free, is absolutely faithful; *secondly*, that the appellation *Schach* or *Xa*, belongs only to kings or to the highest of the princes, especially among the Persians—that of Emir belonging rather to the Turks, and being applied to the chief defenders and propagators of the empire of Muhammad—that of *Chan* or *Han* or *Ghan* belonging both to Persians and to Tartars, and being applied both to princes and to nobles; *thirdly*, that his informant (whether intentionally or by mistake, he knows not) has made the year 962 of the Muhammadan era correspond to the year 1552, although Leunclavius makes it 958.*

2.—*Humáyún.*

In the year of Christ†—, Hamayon, King of the Mogols, marched with his army against Bengala. He quickly subdued it, routing the forces of the Patans; and changed its name to Senethabad‡. But he did not enjoy this victory long. Ferried§ Khan, who preferred to be called T'Zeer-chan, one of the Patan kings, marched from Nau|| with a large number of troops—they say that he had

* See page 176. This is given as the date of the death of Humáyún; the year is right, the Christian Hijrah year should of course be 1556.

† The date of this departure is left uncertain by the Muhammadan historians; it was in one of the three years 942, 943, 944 of the Muhammadan era (A.D. 1535, 1536, or 1537).

‡ The city of Bengala seems to be meant here. Humáyún occupied Gaur or Lakhnauti in June or July 1538. The story that he altered the name to Jannatabad is given by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, and is repeated by most modern writers. On the mint-cities of Bengal, see

Thomas' *Chronicles of the Pathán Kings*, page 152.

§ Sher Sháh's original name was Faiz-ud-din, son of Husain of the Sur tribe of Afgháns. The circumstances under which it was changed to Sher Khán are narrated in Stewart's *History of Bengal*, page 83.

|| Mr. Thomas in his *Chronicles* mentions Shahr Nau as one of the mint-cities of Bengal. He supposes it to be the name of the new city founded near the site of the old Lakhnauti; though this does not seem quite consistent with the statement in the text. He adds in a note:—"The decipherment of the name of this mint (as Colonel Yule remarks)

under his banners sixty-five thousand Patans—and having recovered the province of Bahar and the fort of Radia-Rattas,* compelled Hamayon to retreat precipitately from Bengala to Pathana. When Hamayon had arrived at Tziocha,† Tzeerchan, who had followed him, routed him so completely as to compel him to fly to Agra. Here he collected all his scattered forces; and having summoned all the Ommeraaws from the various provinces of the empire, he raised a new army and marched to the Ganges. When news of this was brought to Tzeerchan, he sent on twenty thousand cavalry by a march of fifteen coss, to prevent the troops of Hamayon from crossing the river. Everything was left unguarded in the Mogol camp, either through contempt of the enemy or on account of their innate indolence; the night was spent in songs and feasting. Tzeerchan on the other hand, having discovered the insecure state of the enemy by means of spies, sent on Ghawas-chañ [Khawás Khán] with ten thousand of his quickest troops. The latter having marched ten coss with the greatest celerity, fell on the army of Hamayon very early in the morning, and finding it buried in sleep and wine, completely routed it. When Hamayon was aroused from sleep he found the camp full of wailing and tumult; and being unable to reorganise his troops, who had mounted their horses and were flying in all directions, he himself began to think of flight. By the time he reached the bank of the river, he was almost unattended; and was carried across by a certain water-carrier, who swam with him to the opposite bank. Here he opportunely found the horse of a certain soldier who had been drowned in the river; and on this he fled to Agra. All his elephants, his horses, and a vast treasure, fell into the hands of the enemy; his concubines also, and the daughters and indeed the whole harem both of himself and of his generals fell into the power of Tzeerchan. The latter, having thus obtained a most unexpected victory, used it with the utmost moderation; he neither himself offered, nor permitted any of his followers to offer, any indignity to the wives and children of his enemies. He marched as rapidly as possible in the direction of Agra,

determines for mediæval geography the contested site of Nicolo Conti's *Cernove*." Nicolo Conti describes Cernove as "a large and wealthy city," fifteen days' sail up the Ganges. Firishtah states that Sher Khán had at this time retired to his original patrimony, which consisted of the districts of Sahsaram in Bihár, and "Tondah" or Taudah. Stewart describes "Tondah" (*History of Bengal*, page 95) as separated from Gaur by the old bed of the Ganges. He mentions that it was made the capital of

Bengal by Sulaimán Kararání; and it may possibly be identical with Mr. Thomas' Shahr Nau. There was, however, a Kháspur-Taudah, I believe, higher up the river—the name suggesting a connexion with the Khawás Khán in the text.

* Firishtah gives as an account of the taking of Rahtás by Sher Shah, the story which is told by De Laet below (page 185.) of one of Akbar's generals, Muhibb Ali Khan.

† This is Chonsa, on the Ganges between Patua and Benares.

reducing many of the towns in his route. Hamayon in the meantime having lost all his troops, took with him Zimlebegem* one of his wives who was pregnant, and went to Asmeere; and thence into the province of Siernel. Here, in the fort Ammei,† his wife bore him a son, who was afterwards called Achabar. At length, his panic still continuing, he fled to Lahore. His brother, Mirza Kamerhaen,‡ was governor of this city; and he, observing the fear and pusillanimity of his brother, asked permission of the king (since he himself was afraid of the sight of the enemy) to be allowed to march against the Patanensians, who were now said to have arrived at Tzerhinda (Sarhind.) The speech of his brother mortified the king excessively; so he left Lahore and went to Cassimere§. One of the royal Ommerauws had been governor of this province; but unknown to the king he had lately died, and the people were in revolution. They had not only fortified the metropolis, but also so blocked up the passes (commonly called Cothel||) that access to the kingdom was most difficult. The king consequently, excluded from this refuge, was about to betake himself to Kabul or Multhan; but his brother Kamraon, being himself compelled to fly from Lahore (for Zeerghian had by this time taken not only Lahore but also Multhan), and being now hostile to the king, had arrived by forced marches at Triulebegen, and had thus cut off the road to Kabul. Kamraon, moreover, had written to the other brother, Mirza Assary,¶ who was then Governor of Khandahar, asking him to fortify his citadel and not to admit the king. Chan Hossen, the Governor of Tatta, was guilty of similar perfidy; for when the king asked him to allow him to pass through his province, he replied, that if the king thought of going to Persia, the road through Kandahar would be more convenient. The king, finding himself thus deserted by all his adherents, took the road to Kandahar; but here also his brother Assary refused to admit him. Then, leaving his wife Zimlebegem,** with his little son (now a year old) and all his baggage and servants and the whole

* Akbar's mother was called Hamida. Professor Blochmann, in his biographical notes on the Ain-i-Akbari, mentions that she had the title of Maryam Makani. I may here take the opportunity of acknowledging, once for all, the very great assistance I have obtained, in annotating this *Fragment*, from Professor Blochmann's edition of the *Ain*, which is a perfect mine of antiquarian and historical lore illustrative of this period.

¶ Amarkot, then a fort in the desert not far from the Indus.

‡ Humayun's visit to his brother

Kamran at Lahore preceded the attempt on Sind and the birth of Akbar.

§ De Laët says a little too much; but Humayun sent Mirza Haidar to Kashmir who conquered it. Vide Mr. Blochmann's *Ain*, p. 461.

|| The Hindustani-Persian *kotal*, a pass; see page 191.

¶ Mirza Askari at this time held Kandahar on the part of Kamran.

** Jahubar in the *Memoirs of Humayun* states that Humayun took his wife with him on the same horse, but left the little Akbar behind.

harem in the town of Tziauwhaen,* he went into Persia; and came to Sebigtan,† accompanied only by Beyramghan, who had joined him with a few picked soldiers. Assary, when he found out that his brother had fled, shut up the queen and her son in the citadel of Kandahar, and seized all the baggage and treasure. Very different was the character and conduct of the Persian Sha-Tamas; for he, as soon as he heard of Hamayon's disaster and flight, sent orders to his governor in Herath that if the fugitive king should happen to journey in that direction, he should be received and comforted with all the offices of humanity. Accordingly, when the king arrived within twelve miles of Herath, the governor with all the mancebdars and magistrates met him, conducted him into the city, entertained him sumptuously and presented him with many horses and much valuable household stuff; and at length on his departure,‡ he warned all the other Persian governors that wherever he went he was to be received and forwarded on his journey with the utmost honour. When Hamayon was not far from Chasbin,§ where the King of the Persians then was, Sha-Tamas sent to meet him his brother, Mirza Beyram,§ with all the Onmerauws and the rest of the Court; who brought Hamayon to the king. The Persian embraced the exile, and endeavoured to console him; and ordered his brother, Beyram, to wait on him at table. Whilst the latter was performing this task with the utmost diligence, a rash speech of Hamayon nearly caused his ruin. For remarking the obedience of Beyram, he observed, that it was well for the Persian that he had such a brother on whose obedience he could rely; that for himself, although he had loaded his brothers with honours and riches, he had found them his worst enemies in the day of his adversity. This speech of the king enraged Beyram exceedingly. Glowing with anger and hatred, he went to his brother, and represented that when Sha-Ismael was at the head of affairs in Persia, Babur, the father of Hamayon, was only a gardener.|| In this way he so far moved the king as to induce him to think of expelling the Mogol; and he doubtless would have expelled him, had not the sister of Sha-Tamas, Begem Sultana, taken pity on the exiled monarch and diverted her brother from his intention, by the aid of her prudence and of her eloquence which was very great. She recal-

* Sehwan on the right bank of the Indus.

† The Governor of Siwistan received Humayun respectfully and sent him on to Herat; here he was received with the honours due to his rank, by order of Shah Tahmasp.

‡ Qazwin in Persia.

§ This was Bairam Khan.

|| Abul Fazl in the *Asn* (Mr. Blochmann's translation, p. 87) says that Babur brought horticulture into India; and elsewhere he is spoken of as a zealous gardener. This was his second hobby, *prosody* being his first.

led to his memory that Hamayon was sprung from the race of Teymur, from which family his ancestors had received the greatest benefits, and to which they were so far indebted for their empire, that it would be impossible for him to desert Hamayon without the imputation of ingratitude.

Sha-Tamas, affected by the prayers of his sister, orders Hamayon to be supplied with every necessary for his journey—camels, horses, tents, and all other equipments of war. Then he commands Khan Trammias, Badorgan, Khan-Couligan Narenzyn (the father of Hassen Coulighan), Ismael Coulighan Wattedel, and other Ommerauws and Mancebdars to accompany him into India. Hamayon marched directly on Kaudahar from Chasbin, and surrounded the city on all sides with his forces. Having in vain called upon his brother Assary to surrender, he ordered his machines to be directed against the walls; but when Assary presented the king's little son, now two years old, in the way of the machines, the attack was discontinued. The result at length was that the king guaranteed, by an oath on the book of Mahumetan law, that his brother's life should be spared, and that he should have liberty to go where he would. Assary went off to his brother, Kamraon, who was at Kabul; but the king rapidly following him, easily got possession both of Kabul and of the person of Kamran; and having deprived the latter of his eyesight, he sent the miserable wretch into exile at Mecha, where he died shortly afterwards.*

In the Mahumetan year 960 (according to our era, 1550) Tzeer-chan or Tyechemecha, king of the Patans, died in the citadel of Gualere, leaving a son, Phero-chan, only twelve years old.† When the nobles of the realm wished to put this boy on the throne of his father, his uncle Adelghan, blind with the lust of empire, took his life, and usurped the kingdom. This crime disgusted the nobles, who consequently revolted in nearly every province. Adelghan, however, hoping to anticipate them, marched out of Gualere with a large army; and easily took Tzhilnar,‡ a city at that time of great size and wealth. The death of Tzeer-chan, and these disturbances in the Patan kingdom, were not long concealed from Hamayon, who up to this time had remained at Kabul. Accordingly, thinking that now the time had arrived,

* Kamran died at Mecca in October 1557.

† It was Salim Sháh Súr (or Islám Sháh), the son and successor of Sher, who died at Gwálár; leaving a son, Firáz, who was murdered by his maternal uncle Muhammad Khán. The latter assumed the title of Muhammad Adil Sháh. Sikau-

dar Súr (mentioned below), and Ibrahím Súr were members of the Súr family who rebelled against Adil Sháh.

‡ This is the fortress of Chanár, which remained in the possession of Adil Sháh and his General Hemú until the battle of Pániyat.

for recovering without difficulty his lost possessions, he hastens as rapidly as possible with an army into India, and reduces to subjection all the towns and provinces on his route, no one daring to oppose him. At length he arrived at Tzerhind, where Recander-ghau Assega,* an old and faithful minister of the deceased king, was in command. The latter hastily faced the invader with ten thousand cavalry; but when he ventured on a battle, he was defeated after a hotly contested struggle, and fled with only a thousand troopers to the mountains of Changera.† The victorious Hamayon committed his young son, Abdul Fetta Gelaladin Mahamet, (who was afterwards called Achabar) to Beyrangau Ghanua to be educated. To the same officer he confided the organisation of the whole of his army, and commanded him to follow Recander as rapidly as possible with ten thousand horsemen, whilst he himself pushed on towards Delly. He sent, however, Allan Couly and Semaranghan‡ and Badurghan§ to reduce the Doab, a province which lies between the Ganges and the Jeminus or Semena. Both these expeditions were successful: for Recander was slain, and the province was recovered. The king had hardly spent three months in Delly, where also he had commenced to build a magnificent palace, when he was summoned to depart this life. For as he was descending the steps of the palace after midday, hearing the voice of a certain man who was calling to prayers, he sat down, leaning on his staff. But as he had taken a lot of opium a little before

* This is obviously a misprint for Sicander. The chief referred to is Sikandar Khán Uzbak. A full account of him is given at p. 365 of Mr. Blochmann's translation of the *Asn*; where also this very meeting at Sarhind is mentioned—a very minute coincidence, of value, because independent.

† This doubtless means the mountains of Kágrah.

‡ Allan Couly and Semaranghan doubtless refer to the same person, Alf Qulí Khán, otherwise called Khán Zamán. He and his brother Bahádur Khán were sons of Haidar Sultan Uzbak, who joined Humáyún on his return from Persia. Professor Blochmann says of him:—"Alf Qulí Khán distinguished himself in Kábul and in the conquest of Hindústán, was made Amír and sent to the Dnáb and Sambhal, where he defeated the Afghans. At the time of Akbar's accession,

Alf Qulí Khán fought with Shádí Khán, an Afghán noble; but when he heard that Hemú had gone to Delhi, he thought fighting with this new enemy more important; but before Alf Qulí arrived at Delhi, Tardí Beg had been defeated, and Alf returned from Mirat to Akbar at Sarhind. Alf was sent in advance with 10,000 troopers, met Hemú near Pá nipat, and defeated him. Though Akbar and Bairám were near, they took no part in this battle. Alf Qulí received the title of Khán Zamán. Next to Bairám, the restoration of the Mughal dynasty may be justly ascribed to him. Khán Zamán then got Sambhal again as jágír, cleared the whole North of India up to Lakhnau of the Afghans, and acquired an immense fortune by plunder.

§ The brother of the last; see preceding note.

he was drowsy ; and his staff slipping on the smooth steps, he fell headlong, and rolling down about forty steps, injured himself so much, that after three days he died. This happened in the year 962 of the Mahumetan era, A. D. 1552.*

3—Akbar.

Abdulghan having heard of the unexpected death of Hamayon at Tzilnar where he had hitherto been in hiding, sent his chief commander, Couligan Hemou,—who was a Gentile (Hindu) and born in the middle ranks of life,† but an able soldier,—to the town of Delly to attack the Mogols, with a large treasure for the pay of the troops and with five hundred elephants. But the Mogol Prince, Abdul Fetta Gelal-ud-din Mahumet Achabar, who with Beyranghan and Chanchanna‡ and the greater part of the army, was pursuing his father's enemies in the mountainous country of Kohistan,§ having heard of his father's death, marched towards Kalanor and there was proclaimed king by Beyranghan. He then proceeded as rapidly as possible to Delly. Hemou, in the meantime, had routed Tourdichan,|| who had dared to come out with an army from Delly to meet him. The latter in his flight happened to meet the army of the Prince, and was received with an appearance of friendship ; but after the banquet he was stabbed with a dagger by a slave, by the orders of Beyranghan. Then Alla-Koulichan and Badurghan were summoned by the Prince and his guardian Beyranghan, with all their forces, from the Do-Ab or the province between the rivers ; and were ordered with their army to march on ahead to Panipat to stop Hemou, who in the

* This should be 1556; see note page 170.

† Hemú was said to have kept a small shop in early life, and his appearance was even meaner than his birth.

‡ The two names probably indicate the same person, Bairám Khán, whose history is too well known to require any notice here. He was created Khán-Kháwán and Khán Bárá after Akbar's accession at Kalánúr.

§ Kohistan of course means "mountainous country"; De Laët here unwittingly gives a translation—as he does lower down, in the case of *Kothel* (*Kutb*).

|| This is of course Tardi Beg Khán. Elphinstone speaks of him as one of Humáyún's most faithful companions, but this is contradicted by all native historians. Mr. Bloch-

mann thus speaks of the circumstances described in the text:— "Tardi drove away Háji Khán, an officer of Sher Sháh, from Naraul. On Hemú's approach, after some unsuccessful fighting, Tardi too rashly evacuated Dehli, and joined Akbar at Sarhind. Bairám did not like Tardi from envy, and sectarian motives, accused him, and obtaining from Akbar a sort of permission, (see Badaoni, II., 14) had him murdered. Akbar was displeased. Bairám's hasty act was one of the chief causes of the distrust with which the Chagatái nobles looked upon him. Tardi Beg was a Suunf." Elphinstone assigns the same motives to Bairám ; but Professor Cowell in a note says—"The Moghuls were greatly dispirited, and Bairám Khán, to enforce order, had Tardi Beg put to death for abandoning Dehli.

meantime had taken Delly—the Prince following with the rest of his forces. •

Alla-Kouligan and Badurghan met Hemou at Tilleputli,* about midway between Delly and Panipat, and risked an engagement without any delay. The soldiers of Hemou were in a mutinous state on account of their pay being in arrears; they deserted their leader and dispersed, so that the Mogols got possession of all their baggage and elephants; and Hemou being struck by an arrow in the eye, whilst fighting, was compelled to take to flight.

He was however seized and dragged back by Couligan Marein,† and brought before Achabar, who had heard of the slaughter of the Patans and was hastening to the spot. Achabar at the request of Couligan severed with his sword the neck of the man who was in his power—a crime unworthy of a prince; and ordered his head to be fixed on the gate of Delly.

After this Alla Couligan, Zemaen,‡ and Badurghan were sent into the Do-Ab with a powerful army, to follow up the remnants of the Patan forces; and they marched to Ziaumpore on the banks of the river Thatsan and reduced all that country to submission.

The Prince with Beyraughan went to Agra. There they

* I do not know that the exact locality of this, the second battle of Pánpát, has been indicated, by any other historian. Tilliputli must be near Sonpat. Neither Elphinstone nor any of the standard histories, as far as I know, notice the important fact (already pointed out by Mr. Blochmann) that neither Akbar nor Bairám were actually present at this battle. The story told below of Sháh Qulí Khán persuading Akbar to slay Hemú with his own hand, is usually (but with less probability) told of Bairám; and Akbar, contrary to De Laët's account, is represented as having magnanimously refused to commit the crime (see *Cowell's Elphinstone*, p. 496). But I have already noticed that Akbar's historians have also generally been Akbar's panegyrist, and Elphinstone's account (as well as all others with which I am acquainted) is derived from Firishtah. Mr. Thomas has shewn, in the *Chronicles of the Pathán kings*, that several of the famous financial reforms usually ascribed to Akbar, and Todar Mall, were really due to the wisdom of Sher Sháh Súr.

† With regard to this story,

see the preceding note. "Couligan Marein" is Sháh Qulí Máhrám Bahárlu (mentioned below, page 193); and must be distinguished from the commander in this battle Ali Qulí Khán (Khán Zamán). The accuracy of the story, though opposed to all former accounts of this famous incident, is confirmed by the following note on the life of Sháh Qulí Máhrám in Mr. Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*:—"He was in Bairám's service, and distinguished himself in the war with Hemú. It was Sháh Qulí that attacked Hemú's elephant, though he did not know who his opponent was. The driver, however, made him a sign, and he led the elephant with Hemú, whose eye had been pierced by an arrow, from the battlefield, and brought the wounded commander to Akbar." The same story is told by Firishtah; whose account of Hemú's death is closely followed by Elphinstone, as mentioned in the preceding note.

‡ Here again Alla Couligan and Zemaen refer to the same person. On this, and on the following campaign of Khán Zamán, see note above, page 175. •

received news that Alla Coulighan and Badurgan had met the Patans, who had rallied near Sambel, had got the better of them, and routed the enemy with great slaughter. The latter had then fled to Lachnou,* had there again tried the fortune of war, and had been again routed. The same thing had happened, only the victory had been far more complete, a third time at Ziaunpore.† So that these two generals with extraordinary rapidity had conquered the whole of Indostan between the Ganges and Tziatsom‡ rivers.

Achabar in the meantime was wasting his time in hunting and other amusements at Agra. Whilst thus engaged, he either perceived of himself, or was persuaded by his flatterers, that Beyranghan (whom his father had appointed before his death to be his tutor and governor) was drawing to himself all the power in the State, and was the only person who was looked up to by all the soldiery. Achabar was very much annoyed at this; and being urged on by his nurse, an old woman named Maghen,§ he devised the following trick to put himself out of the power of his governor. With the consent of Beyranghan he went out with a number of his companions, and crossed the Simmena,|| ostensibly for the purpose of hunting. He, however, pushed on to Ko-heb;¶ and thence, his nurse who had followed him by easy stages, conducted him as rapidly as possible to Delly, in which from ancient times it had been customary for the kings of India to be installed in their kingdom. Here the Prince, having summoned all the magnates from the vicinity, formally took upon himself the kingly dignity, and was saluted king by the acclamations of all. Beyranghan having heard of this, sends to the king without delay all the Ommeraws and Mancebdars who lived around Agra, and wrote to the following effect:—"That he had never done anything except that which he judged beneficial to the kingdom, and had never regarded in any way his own interests; that, in accordance with the power confided to him by his (the king's) father, he had feared for the youth of the king, lest he should be reckless and listen to counsels unworthy of himself; but that now, when he saw that the king possessed such prudence as to be able to manage his own affairs, he prayed that all things both at home and abroad might go on prosperously; that for himself, he was now an old man well nigh worn out by his labours in the administration of the kingdom, and had only this one request to make:—that leave"

* A misprint for Lakhnor in Sam-bhal (Murádábád.)

† Jaunpur.

‡ This is probably the Tons.

§ Akbar's foster-mother, Máhum, had received the title of Ji Ji Anagah

from Humáyún. Badaoni attributes the fall of Bairám to the influence of Máhum and her son Adham Khan.

|| The Jamuná or Jumnah.

¶ Koel or Alfgarh. Ko-heb is evidently a mistake for Kohel.

might be given him to go to Mecha and there to spend the remainder of his life." Having easily obtained the king's permission, the good old man with his family and household departs from Agra and takes the road to Guzarat through the country of Meuwat; but he had only reached the town of Pathang* when he received a mortal wound from a Pathan slave † of his, in revenge for the death of his father who (they say) had formerly been slain by Beyraughan. From the effects of this wound he died shortly afterwards. His servants with his son, Mirza Abdül Rachiem, ‡ then only a boy of twelve, returned to Agra to the king; who caused the youth to be carefully educated in a manner befitting his rank.

The fort of Agra had been formerly surrounded with a brick wall by the Pathan kings; but this wall through age had many breaches, and was falling into a ruinous state. Accordingly king Achabar, that he might leave behind him some notable memorial of his name, commanded that it should be built up of living stone; Cassenghan Mierbar§ being set over the work, who had the reputation of being a most skilful architect. This man brought the stone from Tziekerrey|| (a city which is called Fetti-pore at the present day) and by collecting workmen from all quarters, pressed on the work with so much energy as to finish it in a short time.

In the meantime it happened that a certain Rasboot named Zimet Patha, ¶ relying on his valour and energy, attacked his lord the Rahn Rana, and took from him the castle of Citter with many other towns in the neighbourhood, and even encroached on the territories of Achabar. Now this castle of Citter is fortified in the strongest manner possible both by nature and by art, for it is built on a mountain, and the kings of Dely had never been able to take it. Indeed, Sultan Alaudin, when he had besieged it for twelve long years, was compelled ingloriously to

* Patan or Nahrwála in Gujarať.

† Bafrám was stabbed by a Lohani Afghán named Mubárik, whose father had been killed in the battle of Machhiwarah.

‡ Afterwards the famous Khán-Mánán Mirzá Abdurrahím, whose name we shall often meet with. Mr. Blochmann says of this affair—"When Bairám Khan was murdered at Patan in Gujarať, his camp was plundered by some Afgháns; but Muhammad Amlán Dáwanah and Bába Zanibur managed to remove the child and his mother from the scene of plunder, and bring them to Ahmadábad,

fighting on the road with the Afghán robbers." Akbar subsequently murdered the mother, Bairám's widow.

§ Qásim Khán, Mir Bahr (the title Mir Bahr means "Admiral") was a commander of three thousand. The *Ain* says he completed the Fort of Agra "after eight years at a cost of seven *lacs* of *Tankahs*, or thirty-five lakhs of rupees."

|| Fathpur Sikri.

¶ Zimet is a misprint for Zimel; and it refers to Jai Mal, who defended the fortress of Chitor after the flight of the Rána Udai Singh.

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raise the siege. When this was told Achabar, he was in no way terrified by the difficulty of the undertaking, but marched against it with a strong army furnished with very numerous machines and other warlike equipment. He was delayed some months in the siege, and suffered heavy loss from the besieged without attaining his object; at length, determined to resort to extremities, he commanded the Turkish soldiers, who were serving in his army, to run mines under the chief barbican of the fortress; and when these were finished, an immense quantity of gunpowder was placed in them, fire was applied, and the barbican was blown up from its foundations—the approach to the fortress being thus laid open to the besiegers. But Tzime! Patha perceiving that the destruction of himself and his friends was imminent, determined on a most cruel exploit; namely to shut up in one place all the wives and children of himself and all his followers and to burn them to death. Then he met the enemy who were breaking into the castle, and fought with the utmost pertinacity until he and all his followers were slain. This was a very great victory; and in memory of it, the king caused two elephants to be carved, Tzime! Patha sitting on one, and one of his chief generals on the other, and caused them to be placed one on each side of the gate of the Fort at Agra.

About this time letters came to the king from Lahore from Safferghan* and Rahia Bagwander,† announcing that his brother, Mirza Mahamet Hachiem, had come down from Kabul; and having conquered all that part of the country, was encamped at Lahore; consequently, that it was necessary for the king to come as quickly as possible with a strong army. The king marched towards Lahore without a moment's delay with a very large body of troops, and had already reached Tzerhind, when his brother, terrified at the unexpected approach of the king, took to flight, and leaving his tents and nearly all the baggage in his camp to be plundered by the royal troops, he returned to Kabul. The king, having marched through the whole of the Panjab and reduced it to obedience, returned to Lahore.* Here he received letters from his mother who was at Agra, informing him that Alla Coulighan,‡ Zamman, and Badarghan, whom he had left at Lacknow, had rebelled, and that they were devastating his territories in every direction, destroying towns and villages,

* I suppose this is Muzaffar Khan, afterwards Vakif of the Empire, and the successor of Khan Jahán as Governor of Bengal.

† This is doubtless Rájá Bhagavan Dás, son of Rájá Bihári Mall of Jaipur or Amber, and uncle of the

more celebrated Rájá Mán Singh.

‡ This rebellion of Khan Zamán and his brother Bahádur had really commenced some time before, and Akbar had been called away from repressing it by his brother's invasion of the Panjab.

and were even threatening Agra itself. On reading this the king struck his camp, returned to Agra by forced marches, and crossed the Semina, with his army. The rebels, terrified by the rapid advance of the king with such a powerful force, fled first to Lacknow and then to Karamemecpore*. But the royal troops followed them up between Fettiport† and Karamemecpore, and attacked them with so much vigour that Alla Cowighan was slain in the battle; Badorghau‡ was taken prisoner, and was beheaded in the presence and at the command of the king. After this Gannanna§ and Mouninghan|| were sent to Zianpore, to take command of the province, and watch the Patan enemy; since it was believed that an opportunity might be offered of attacking them, as Mia Soliman Lodi¶ was at Tscoutsa, not far off. The king himself with the rest of the army returned to Agra. Here there came upon him a great longing for a male heir which had been hitherto denied him; and so he went on foot to Assemere, on a pilgrimage to the monument of the prophet Hoge Mondea;** and on his return to Tzickeri from this pilgrimage, he visited a certain dervish named Scheeck Selim who lived in the neighbourhood. (Sheiches, according to the explanation of Leunclavius, are held in high regard by Mahumetans on account of their holy lives, and have the care of souls.) He explained to him the cause of his pilgrimage; and the dervish predicted that three sons would be born to the king, and declared that one of the royal concubines was already pregnant. She bore a son whom Cheeck Selim called Sultan Selim from his own name. Afterwards a second son was also born to the king, and named Chan-Morad; and also a third, Chan-Daniel. The king having thus obtained the object of his vows, ordered a splendid palace to be built for him at Tzickery, and the town itself to be surrounded by a stone wall; and ordered the

* Karah is on one side of the Ganges, and Manikpur on the other; the two names are here joined, not an uncommon practice.

† Badaoui says that the fight took place at Mungarwal, "which place has since been called Fathpur." Fathpur is a small village about ten or twelve miles south-east of Karah.

‡ Bahadur was killed by Shahbáz Khan, Kambú at Akbar's orders.

§ This is probably Ghani Khan, the son of the following.

|| Munim Khan, one of the greatest of Akbar's grantees, succeeded Bairám Khan as Khan Khánau. The iron mistakes of his campaigns in Bengal and his death at Gaur are

well known.

¶ Badaoui mentions that Munim Khan after the defeat of Khan Zamán was appointed to the latter's jagirs in Jaunpur, and there concluded peace with Sulaimán Karárit the Afghán prince of Bengal, who promised to read the Khutbah and strike coin in Akbar's name. Munim built the great bridge of Jaunpur in 981; see the "Topography of the Mogul Empire."

** Háji Muin-ud-din. For an account of this saint and his shrine, see my *Topography of the Mogul Empire*, in the *Calcutta Review* for January 1871.

town to be called in future Fetteppore,* because there God had given him the fulfilment of his wishes.

In the midst of these fortunate events, the king received letters from Chan Azem † from Guzerat, that Mirza Ebréham Hossen, Mirza Chan, and Mirza Mahamet Hossen, ‡ who formerly had attempted hostilities in Indostan, had now come into Guzerat with their companions in arms, and were laying waste the territories of the king far and wide; and that Hossen had so greatly augmented his forces by the crowds of robbers who flocked to him from all sides; that he had blockaded Amadabat, so that he (Chan Azem) was with difficulty able to defend himself within the fortifications. The king having received this message at Tzickery, orders dromedaries to be got ready as quickly as possible—these animals are able to march sixty and sometimes seventy coss within twenty-four hours—and having mounted them with some of his most trusted generals and servants, he performed the journey of four hundred coss in seven days, and pitched his camp not far from Hamadabat. § This unexpected arrival of the king, who had actually outstripped the news of his departure, so terrified the rebels who were ignorant of the number of his troops, that they immediately broke up the siege of the city, and took to flight. Chan Azen and the other royalist leaders, who had until this time been hiding in various places through fear of the enemy, now came

* This is of course Fathpur Sikri.

† Khán-i-Azam Mirzá Aziz Kokah, son of Atgah Khán and Ji Ji Anagah (see note on page 178), was Akbar's foster-brother, and one of the most powerful nobles of this reign and the next. An admirable account of his life is given by Mr. Blochmann in his edition of the *Ain*, page 325; from which I extract the following account of the transactions described in the text:—"In the 17th year, after the conquest of Ahmadábád, Mirzá Aziz was appointed Governor of Gujarát; as far as the Mahindra river, whilst Akbar went to conquer Súrat. Mahammad Husain Mirzá and Sháh Mirzá, joined by Sher Khán Fáláfi, thereupon besieged Patan; but they were at last defeated by Mirzá Aziz and Qutbud-din. Aziz then returned to Ahmadábád. When Akbar, on the 2nd of Far 981, returned to Fathpur Sikri, Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk, a Gujaráti noble, occupied Idar, and then moved

against Aziz in Ahmadábád. Mahammad Husain Mirzá also came from the Dakhin, and after attaching Kambháyt (Cambay), they besieged Ahmadábád. Aziz held himself bravely. The siege was raised by Akbar, who surprised the rebels near Patan. During the fight Mahammad Husain Mirzá and Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk were killed. The victory was chiefly gained by Akbar himself, who with 100 chosen men fell upon the enemy from an ambush. Aziz had subsequently to fight with the sons of Ikhtiyár-ul-mulk."

‡ An account of this family descendants of Timur, is given in all the histories. Sháh Mirzá is here called Mirzá Chan.

§ Akbar left Agra on the 4th Rabí I., and attacked the Mirzās on the ninth day after his departure. The distances between Agra and Patan being four hundred kos, Akbar's forced march has often been admired.—Briggs II., p. 241.

out to meet the king, each with his own troops. Strengthened by these reinforcements, he orders Chan Goga,* who was raised to the rank of Commander-in-Chief, with twelve thousand cavalry and the swiftest elephants, immediately to attack the rebels; whilst he himself halted in another part with the rest of the army. The battle raged furiously; until at length Chan Goga fell, when the royalists began to yield. The king, indignant at this, flung himself into the thickest of the fight; the rebels did not sustain his attack, but were driven back in all direction in shameful flight. Mirza Abraham and Mirza Chan had already fallen in the battle; but Mahamet Hossen was captured by the king, and atoned for his perfidy with his head. After this the fortress of Surat was taken with hardly any trouble, and the whole province of Guzarat subdued; and Achabar, having appointed some of his most faithful Generals as Governors there, returned to Indostan. In the same year the fortress of Agra was completed; and Ragu Thorenne,† who was the king's treasurer or wasir, rendered an account of the expenditure upon it. From this it appeared that on the walls of this fortress had been expended fifty thousand *caroras* of *tackas*‡ that is (if you reckon twenty tackas to each rupee) two million and five hundred thousand rupees; whilst on the walls of Fetti-pore had been expended one million and five hundred thousand rupees—altogether four million rupees.

A short time after this, Ghan Ghanna and Monimchan, § who were in command as viceroys at Zyaumpore, || informed the king that they had frequently fought with the Patans; that Soliman Kaharanien ¶ had died some time before; that his son had succeeded him, but after two years had been deprived of the empire by his

* De Laët's "Goga" evidently stands for *Kokah* (foster-brother), a title given to the sons of Akbar's nurses. The "Chan Goga" here mentioned was Saif Khān Kokah, a brother of the famous Zain Khān, and son of Pichah Jān Anagah, a nurse of Akbar's. He had distinguished himself in the former year at the taking of Sūrat; and had accompanied Akbar on his forced march from Agra to Patan. He was killed, as mentioned in the text, fighting against Muhammad Husin Mirzā. Akbar, on his return to Agra, paid all Saif Khān's debts. He is called here "Commander-in-Chief; he was really a commander of four thousand.

† This seems to be a curious corruption of *Rājā Todar Mall*. The famous financier's name is spelt at

page 187. *Thoramāl*; and again at page 188, *Thorniel*. Mr. Blochmann says of this name (*Asiatic Researches*, p. 352). "The name Todar Mall is often spelt in MSS. with the Hindi T, d, and r; which explains the spelling 'Torel Mall' which we find in old histories.

‡ See note, page 179

§ See note above (page 181) on Munim Khān. Here, as before, Ghan Ghanna is only the title of Munim Khān (*Khān Khānān*).

|| Jaunpur.

¶ This is Sulaimān-i-Karārānī. De Laët's accounts of the wars between the Mughuls and the Afghāns in Bengal, are perhaps the most interesting and valuable parts of his book, both in Akbar's reign and in Jahāngir's; much of the information is quite novel.

subjects, and Douwet* the son of Baratghan† put in his place; that the latter was an indolent man, immoderately given to drinking, and having no care either for military affairs or for the administration; that accordingly the time was now come for the king to gird himself up to conquer the Patans and add the whole of Bengal to his empire. On the receipt of this intelligence, Achabar ordered his forces and all his munitions of war to be hastily got ready; and with his elephants moved towards Pathana, crossing the rivers Ganges and Tziotsa. Xa-Douwet, having heard from his scouts of the approach of the king, sent forward twelve thousand cavalry to check the Mogols. These, meeting the Mogols between the Ziotsa and Moheb Alypour,‡ were put to flight with little difficulty, and betook themselves panic stricken to Pathana; which city Xa-Douwet fortified, and furnished with the necessary provisions for sustaining a siege. The siege occupied Achabar six months, not without great slaughter of his own troops. At length in the seventh month the town was taken by storm; very many Patans were put to the sword, many of the chiefs with their wives and children were captured, and a vast booty obtained. Xa-Douwet himself was lying steeped in wine and conscious of nothing; he was placed by his servants in a boat, and floated down the river for three days; till at length his followers, disgusted at his imbecility which had brought upon them such calamities, cut off his head and sent it to Achabar.‡ The latter having conquered the whole of Bengal, returned to Fetti-pore. After this by the valour and industry of Rostanchan§ and Zadock || Mamet Chan,

* This is a very curious point. Stewart (*History of Bengal*, page 96) says that Sulaiman Kararai was succeeded by his eldest son Bayazid; but that the latter was set aside after a few months, and was succeeded by Dáúd Khán, the second son of Sulaiman. This account is evidently taken from Firishtah; and every modern History, as far as I am aware, follows Firishtah in calling Dáúd a son of Sulaiman. It is impossible to say which is right, Firishtah or De Laët; for I can find out nothing about the Baratghan named in the text. It seems, however, unlikely that De Laët should have invented this parentage for Dáúd; whereas Firishtah's account, that Dáúd was another son of Sulaiman, is just such as he would be likely to give at a venture, if he were

ignorant of the true parentage.

There is a possibility that Baratghan is a corruption of Báyazid Khán—in which case De Laët would have called Dáúd Khán, wrongly his son, instead of his brother.

† Muhibb-Alipur. Muhibb Ali was the Governor of Rohtas mentioned below, page 185.

‡ This summary dismissal of Dáúd Khán from the scene, is of course a mistake. He was subsequently captured and put to death by Khán Jahán.

§ This appears to refer to Rastam Khán (who was often called by mistake Rustam Khán, Rustam being as much commoner name than Rastam), who was appointed Subahdár of Ajmir in the twenty-second year of Akbar's reign, and got Rantanbhur as *sayas* Rantanbhur was conquered in the

within the space of two months he took from its Rajah the fortress of Rhan Tambor. He then turned his attention to the fortress of Retas in the province of Bahaer, or as some say in Berar. This fortress had no equal, in respect either of situation or of size and strength of the fortifications, either in India or in Turkey, Persia, or Tartary. It is situated on the top of a precipitous mountain, the ascent of which is a journey of eleven coss. It is surrounded by a plain on all sides for a distance of eighteen coss. The circumference of the fortress itself includes fourteen villages, with their fields plentifully yielding all manner of crops. From the very summit of the mountain a torrent descends through its midst, feeding three very large tanks which never dry up. Lastly, at the foot of the mountain the Tzeon [Son] spreads into a marsh or lake three coss in breadth, convenient for intercourse with the people of the neighbourhood and much used for the purpose. With no further delay Achabar orders Moheb Aliaghan,* a man of singular prudence and valour, to endeavour to take this fortress from the Radzia, a gentile (Hindu) prince who held it with no fear of molestation. He departed from the court with some chosen soldiers, and marched into the neighbourhood of the fortress. After he had obtained the friendship of the Radzia by the interchange of presents, he devised the following stratagem. Pretending that he was commanded by the king to depart on a sudden expedition into Bengal, he earnestly besought the Radzia to allow him to leave his family in the fortress. The Radzia, not suspecting the trick, consented with the utmost readiness, and commanded his servants not to disturb in any way the female guests. Without any delay, Moheb Aliaghan fills two hundred *doulyas*, in which women are usually carried, each with two most valiant men and sends them into the fortress. These being let in, got out of the *doulyas*, and surprised and overpowered the sentries at the principal gate. Aliaghan rapidly following with the rest of his forces, slew the Radzia and obtained

thirteenth year (A.D. 1568) by Akbar in person; Khán Jahán being one of his Generals.

† This must be Muhammad Sâdiq Khán (or Sâdiq Khan, as he is called by Abul Fazi—Akbar hating the name Muhammad), one of Akbar's best officers and ultimately a commander of five thousand.

* This story of the taking of Rahtâa by Muhibb Ali Khán is told by Firihtah of Sher Sháh (see note, page 171.) It is however worthy of note that Muhibb Ali Khán bears in the

Tabaqât the surname *Rahlási*. On this name Mr. Blochmann gives the following note:—"This renowned Fort had passed, in 945, into the hands of Sher Sháh . . . Subsequently it came into the hands of Sulaimán and Junaidi Kararani. The latter appointed Sayyid Muhammad commander. He handed it over to Shahbáz Khán. In the same year Akbar appointed Muhibb Ali Khán Governor of Rahtâa, and Shahbáz Khán made over the fort to him."

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possession of the fortress. He obtained a vast treasure and sent it to the king; he earned, by this noble stratagem, lasting fame with posterity.

In another part, in Tzarangpore,* Roup Matthii, a woman of extraordinary beauty, assumed the name of Badur and broke into rebellion. She called the Pathans to arms; and rashly dared to engage Adam Ghan (who had been sent against her with an army) though she had only a few followers. Adam Ghan† easily defeated her, and took her prisoner; she, however, to avoid insult ended her life by poison.

After this the brother of the king, Mirza Mamet Hachim, who ruled at Kabul, died of disease. Rahia Manzingh,‡ a Rasboot by race and a commander of five thousand cavalry, was sent by the king to reduce that kingdom as a province of the empire. The Rahia sent the widows and children of Hachim, and the chief servants, with their own consent, to the king; who received them most kindly, and committed to some of his faithful servants the guardianship and education of his two nephews, of whom the elder was ten and the younger seven years old. To the women he assigned large annual pensions; and to his brother's chief commanders, Mamet Maxuem-ghan,§ Chabeek Ghan, Hametbeeck-ghan, and Jachtbeeck-ghan,|| he gave the commands of a certain number of soldiers with the necessary pay. He also placed Maxuem-ghan of Kabul in the place of Ganghanna

* Tzarangpur is of course Sárangpur; in Málwah.

† Adham Khán. in 968, the year before his death, defeated Báẓ Bahádúr near Sárangpur and took possession of his treasures and dancing girls; and about the latter he got into trouble with Akbar. Roup Mathii is Rúpmatí, the beloved dancing girl of Báẓ Bahádúr, whom I have mentioned in my 'Topography.' There is nothing in the histories to shew that she caused a revolt; and it looks as if De Laët had confounded Báẓ Bahádúr's defeat at Sárangpur and Adham's capture of dancing girls with a rebellion at Sárangpur caused by the Mirzás. Adham had been dead for some time when Akbar invaded Bengal.

‡ The history of Raja Mán Singh, son of Raja Bhagwán Das of Amber, is too well-known to need any notice here.

§ This must be Mas'um Khán-i-Kábuli, who was the foster-brother

(Kokah) of Mírzá Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's brother. His uncle Mirza Aziz, had been Vazír under Humáyún. He received at first from Akbar command of five hundred horse; and after having distinguished himself in the war against the Afghans and having been wounded in a fight with the Bengal hero Káalpahár, he was made a commander of one thousand. He was given Orissa (called in the text "thē Pathan province in Bengal") as *tuyul*; and was subsequently one of the chief leaders of the great military rebellion in Bengal. He was at length driven to *Bhatt* (the Sundarbans and adjoining part of Bengal), where he took refuge with the famous Zamīḍar Isá; and where ultimately he died.

|| These names stand for Sháh Beg Khán; Hámid Beg Khán and Takht Beg Khán. De Laët's I in the last name is perhaps merely a misprint for T.

Mórumghan,* the Governor of the Pathán province in Bengal, who was now dead ; and he sent him away to the province with a great number of Ommerauws.

In the meantime it was announced that Masoffer, who had been deprived of the province of Guseratt, was in rebellion ; and that he had suddenly overpowered and beheaded Gotobdian† Mahametghan the chief of the king's soldiery in Amadabat, with some other Ommerauws. Abdul Rachim-ghan, the son of Ghanna and Beyramghan‡ were sent against the rebel with a powerful army ; and Noran and Gouserghan,§ the sons of the slaughtered Gotobdian, were sent with them to avenge their parent's murder. This war was not a very important one ; for as soon as Rachiem had arrived by forced marches at the confines of Guzerat, he routed the army of Masoffer which consisted of only twelve thousand cavalry || and took him alive. Masoffer, however, to avoid the ignominy of punishment, laid violent hands on himself. Abdul Rachiem obtained as a reward for this campaign, the title of Chan Channa and the command of five thousand cavalry.

In Bengal also a rebellion was now raised by Mazenon-chan¶ Gabiet-chan, Bama-chan,** and Mamet Maxun-chan of Kabul. †† These twice or thrice defeated Radzia Thoramiol Wasir-ghan, who had been sent against them with Zuebhat-ghan‡‡ and a powerful army, They even took that general prisoner ;

* I suppose this is Munim Khán, the late Khán-Khánán ; but Mas'um Khán only succeeded to Orissa, a part of Munim Khán's command.

† Qutb-ud-din Khán was the youngest brother of Atgah Khan. He received Bahroch (Broach), south of Ahmadábád, as Jágir. When Muzaffar of Gujarat asserted his independence, Qutb-ud-din was surprised and defeated by him near Barodah. He shut himself up in the fort of Barodah, but at last capitulated under a promise of safety. Muzaffar seized his fortress at Bahroch and confiscated his immense wealth (about ten kros of rupees) with fourteen lakhs of imperial money ; and shortly afterwards caused him to be put to death.

* † De Laët has there again made the mistake of taking the name and the title for two different persons. Mirza Abdurrahim was the son of Bairám Khán who was also Khán Khánán. He defeated Muzaffar of Gujarat in the battle of Sarkij near

A hamadábád, and again near Nádót ; and for these victories he obtained the command of five thousand horse, and the vacant title of Khán Khánán.

§ These sons were called Naurang Khán and Gujar Khán respectively.

|| Mr. Blochmann says that Muzaffar, by the aid of Qutb-ud-din's treasures, recruited an army of forty thousand troopers ; that Mirzá Abdurrahim had only 10,000 men to oppose him, and was only induced to attack him by his desire for the title of Khán Khánán.

¶ Majuún Khán Qáqshál, one of the chief leaders of the revolt of the military Jágirdárs of Bengal.

** This is doubtless Bába Khán Qáqshál, another of the chief rebels who succeeded Majuún Khán as head of the Túrki clan called Qáqshál.

†† It has already been pointed out that this is Mas'um Khán-i Kabuli.

‡‡ This is Shabbáz Khán, who succeeded Mirza Aziz in Bengal,

but were at length defeated and slain in battle—with the exception of Maxem-ghan, who fled to Hizza-ghan,* the commander of the enemy's forces in Bengal. The latter was encouraged by Maxem-ghan to carry on the war against the royal provinces with greater energy.

Zuebhat-ghan of Kabul received the government of the province of Bengal; and Radzia Thormiel† returned to Fetti-pore.

Then also Radzia Ramziend,§ who had hitherto governed Bandou as an independent prince, being persuaded by Radzia Biermal|| and having obtained a safe-conduct, came to the king at Fetti-pore. He was honourably entertained by the king, and sent back to his territory. Other gentile (Hindú) princes also, following his example, began to solicit the king's friendship, and to send their daughters to the royal seraglio¶ as pledges of mutual alliance and peace.

About this time the king, going towards the rivers Tziotsa and Beack, was wonderfully pleased with a site which he observed at the confluence of the Simmena, the Tziotsa, and the Beack; and he commanded a fortress to be built there of living stone, which was completed by very skilful architects in five years, and was called by the king Elabas.** One million two hundred thousand rupees were expended on this fortress.

The king who now obtained quiet after the conquest of all his enemies, thought of going to Lahore to meet Abdullack-ghan Ubec, the king of Mauthner,†† the son and heir of Tsecander-ghan, who (it was reported) was about to come of his own accord to visit

* The famous Zamíudár Isá; see note on page 186.

† Shabbáz Khání Kambú; the latter part of the name probably mistaken by De Laët for "i Kábuli."

‡ Rájá Todar Mall was succeeded in Bengal by Mirzá Azíz; and the latter by Shahbaz Khan.

§ This was Rájá Rám Chand Baghelah, Rájá of Bhath. "Among the three great Rájás of Hindústán whom Bábar mentions in his *Memoirs*, the Rájás of Bhath are the third." It was from Rám Chand that the famous fortress of Kálinjar had been taken by Majnún Khan-i Qáqshá mentioned above. De Laët's Bandou is Fort Bandhú.

|| This is of course the famous Rájá Bír Bal, the Brahman. He was Akbar's Hindú "Poet Laureate," as Faizi was his Persian one. He had accompanied Akbar in his forced

march from Agrah to Patan. His disasters and death in the Yúsufzai campaign are mentioned in all the Histories.

¶ Especially the Rái of Dúngarpur, to whom Rájá Bír Bal was sent to negotiate the marriage.

** This is of course Allahábád.

†† Abdullah Khán Usbaq, king of Túrán, having long wished to annex Badakshán, at length succeeded in conquering the country on the invitation of Mirzá Sulaimán. The latter, sixth in descent from Timúr had been befriended by Humáyún, and installed in the kingdom of Badakshán; but had been driven out subsequently, by his grandson Mirzá Shahrukh, mentioned in the next note (not by Abdullah, as stated by Elphinstone). By 'Mauthner' De Laët means Máwarannahr, Transoxiana.

India. In the meantime there came to visit him at Bettipore, where he had remained for the last fifteen years, Morza Tsarof* from Badaxan, who had suffered many indignities from the Uzbegs. With him he departed to Lahore, with the intention of, proceeding to Kabul; but reflecting that the Gauges was still in the possession of the Pathans, he turned his course towards Ateeck. Thence he sent Zienchan and Radzia Birmuel† with a strong force to attack the Pathans. But those Pathans who were under the sway of Zelalia Afridi and Turcost-zey, blocked up the mountain paths, and barricaded the roads; so that the royal forces met with great loss, Birmuel with many other Ommeraws fell in the battle, and Tzienghan-goga with great difficulty escaped to the king. Larger forces were then sent, who were so completely successful that all the provinces under the rule of Zelalia and Turcost were subdued.

After this, it is announced to the King, that Mirza Massoffer Hossen and Mirza Roston‡ of Khandahar, the sons of Mirza Beyram who had ruled at Khandahar, had fled on account of some injuries received from Xa-Abas the king of Persia, the son of Godavenda, § and that they wished to make their submission to Achabar. The latter, perceiving that an excellent opportunity was offered him of adding Khandahar to his dominions, sent Chabeeckghan, || a commander of five thousand cavalry, to Khandahar. The two brothers ¶ quickly laid open to him the approaches to the city; and they then came to Lahore to the king, where they were received with the utmost kindness.

T'zedder-zia-han and Hachim-hamma** were sent to Bochara, ostensibly to condole with Abdul-ghan on the death

* This is Mirzá Sháhrúkh, who had been expelled from his kingdom in Badakhán by Abdullah Khán. Both he and his grandfather Mirzá Sulaimán ultimately became grandees of Akbar's Court.

† This disastrous expedition of Zaiú Khán Kokah and Rájá Bír Bal against the Yúsufzais and Afredis, has been already noticed, and its details are well-known. Zelalia stands for Jalálah, their leader.

‡ Mirzá Muzaffar Husain and Mirzá Rustam were the grandsons of Sháh Ismail-i Safawí ("the Sophy") of Persia. Sháh Tahmásp, the entertainer of Humáyún, had conquered Kandahár in 965 A.H.; and Muzaffar now ruled there.

§ Khudábendah succeeded Sháh Ismail.

¶ Sháh Beg Khán Arghún was long governor of Kandahár; and re-

ceived also Kábul under Jahángir.

¶ Mirzá Rustam had before this fled to Akbar, and had been made by him governor of Láhor. Muzaffar was made a *Panjsháhrí*, and Sambhal was given him as Jágir.

** These are Sadr Jahán Muftí and Hakím Humám. Mr. Blochmann (*Asín*, page 468) says of this embassy—"When Abdullah Khán Uzbáking of Túrán, wrote to Akbar regarding his apostasy from Islám, Mirán Sadr and Hakím Humám were selected as ambassadors." He of Sadr Jahán's conduct as M. he temporised in his attitude to Akbar's "Divine Faith," and largely by it.

Humám's real name was H. but he discreetly called Humáyún Qulí, the slave of yún; and was subsequently Humám by Akbar himself.

of his father and to pay respect to the deceased T'sander-ghan, but really to spy out the Maurhener country; which the king was most anxious to annex, as the conquest would spread the glory of his name far and wide, and cause his fame to rival that of Tamurlane the founder of his race. When they had arrived at Bochara, they offered the royal gifts to Abdul-ghan and paid due respect to the memory of the deceased, they were entertained at a public banquet of all the citizens, laid out in the most beautiful manner in the open air according to the manner of that nation; and when they had remained there a whole year, they returned to the king, laden with magnificent gifts and bringing a full account of the topography of the country, of the fortifications of the towns, and of the military strength. It appeared, however, advisable to the king first to attempt the conquest of Cassimere, which was at this time subject to a foreigner. Cassemchan Mierbar,* and Mirza† Alle Tzily were sent, with the whole army of the king and with letters to Justoff-ghan‡ the king of Cassimere—in which letters it was promised that if he would of his own accord peaceably submit to the king, his power should not be in any way diminished. On the receipt of these letters Justoff-ghan went directly to the king at Lahore, leaving his son Jagob-chan§ as regent. The people of the province were very angry at this, for they thought that their king was deceived by some jugglery. And even to the Mogol this surrender was not considered a complete one; for he reasoned thus:—if he (the king of Cassimere) had wished to deal fairly with him, he would have brought his son also with him, inasmuch as the son being a mere youth might easily be induced to make common cause with the opposite faction. And, indeed, the suspicion was not without foundation; for the son, immediately after the departure of his father, threw off the foreign yoke, and began to fortify the kingdom and block up the approaches. These attempts of Jagob-in chan kept the king in a state of anxiety for some time; since it seemed to be a very difficult operation to penetrate into the province through the narrow mountainous approaches. At length, however, he sent off Mirza Alle Tzily and Ghassem-ghan with whose army; sending with them some Cassimerian Ommerauws, *moira*.

third.* This is Qasim Khan Mir Bahr that thrice to us the architect of the had beef Agrah at page 179. He conquered Qashghar and governed it until his Bandoulation in 995. Elphinstone (pro-|| This following Furishtah) ascribes Raja Bir Inquest of Kashmir to Mirza Akbar's High and Raja Bhagavan Das; Faisi was only subsequently entered accompanied to suppress a rebellion.

r long search I have at

length identified this leader, Mirzadah Ali Khan. He was ordered to join Qasim Khan's expedition against Kashmir in 994; and was killed by the Kashmiris in 995, when an imperial detachment under Abdallah Khan was defeated.

† This was Yusuf Khan Chak. § Yaqub Khan, son of the last named.

to whom all the passes were well known. Jacob chan hearing of this sent some Ommerauws with a strong force to Kotele* (i.e., 'the pass') Bimber, to prevent the approach of the enemy. These, however, were won over by the promises and bribes of the king's party; they deserted their own king, and opened the pass to the enemy. The royal troops, having got through the pass, found no difficulty in reaching Cassimere; and since there were no walls, they burst into the city at the first onset. The king was taken alive, but was pardoned by Achabar. He received a pension, as did his father; but not sufficient to maintain his dignity.

After this the king turned his mind towards Sind. Mirza-Sian† ruled there, but was extremely hated by his subjects on account of his tyranny. Gan-Ghanna‡ was appointed to the command of the expedition; and he put his whole army, with all necessary warlike equipment, on board a number of boats, dropped down the river Ravea to the Indus, and so on to the metropolis Tatta. The siege of that city occupied him for six months; but in the seventh Mirza Sian surrendered himself. He was sent to the king, and received kindly by him; the kingdom of Sind was made a province of the empire. Shortly after this, intelligence was brought to the king that Nesam-Sha, king of the Deccan, was dead; and the desire seized him of adding this kingdom also to his empire. Gan-Ganna seemed to be the fittest person to be put in command of this expedition; and he with twenty-two Ommerauws and an immense army set out from Lahore, and at length arrived at Brampore. The Governor of Brampore, Radzia Aly-Ghan§ immediately added his forces to those of Gan-Ganna; and the latter remained there for full six months.¶ For Tziand Biebie¶¶ the daughter of Nesam-Sha was at Amdanager and most prudently administered its affairs; the Eunuch, Godzia-Tzueh,** being the Commander-in-chief of

* Mr. Blochmann (*Asiatic Researches*, page 380) speaking of the passes into Kashmir gained by Qasim Khan, says:—"the word *Kotal* means a mountain or a mountainpass."

† This is Mirza Jani Beg, afterwards a commander of three thousand under Akbar. He belonged to the Arghun Clan, and was descended from Chingiz Khan and Hulagü Khan. An interesting account of the history of this dynasty, first at Kandahar and then at Thathab in Sind is given by Mr. Blochmann, *Asiatic Researches*, page 363.

‡ The Khan Khanán already frequently mentioned—Mirza Abdurrahim, son of Bairam Khan.

§ Rájá Ali Khan, called by Kháf Khán *Rájí* Ali Khan, killed in the campaign as described below.

¶ The Khan Khanán was associated in the command of this with Sultan Murád; and his defects were chiefly owing to the want of good understanding between them.

¶¶ Chánd Bibí.

** De Laet means Kwajah Mutamid-ud-daulah Subail Khan, the Ahmadnagar General who threatened Prince Murád, latter had declined to encounter so the Khan Khanán, Rájá Ali and Mirza Sháhrúkh alone.

her forces, a man conspicuous for bravery and industry. He with forty thousand cavalry (amongst whom were also some troops of the kings of Visiapore and Golconda) marched against Channa. The latter had hardly twenty thousand in camp; but depending on the valour of two of his leaders, Radzia Alighan, and Mirza Ched-Gassem,* of the race of Tzadet,† and others, he boldly engaged the enemy. In order to be able to bring help to any part of his army that might be in difficulties, he remained out of action with five thousand picked horsemen, as a reserve. The battle lasted all day and all night with doubtful fortune, and heavy loss on both sides, Radzia Alighan being amongst the slain. Early the next morning the royal line was giving way, when Chan-Channa with his reserves rushed on the wearied foe with such a violent onset as to cause them to take to flight, Godzia, Tzibel being slain in the battle. This was a very great victory; and yet it did not much injure the Deccan, for the Queen with fresh forces beat back the attacks of the Mogols.

Up to this time all things had gone prosperously and happily with the king; but according to the usual mutability of human affairs, after this time many domestic calamities marred his prosperity. For at first, intent on getting possession of the empire of the Deccan, he sent his son, Sha-Morat, (a commander of seven thousand) to the war there, with Tsadoch Mamet-chan ‡ and other grandees. The Prince went to Brampore, and there remained for the space of six months. Here, though formerly he had exhibited a great deal of prudence and courage, he now gave himself up to drunkenness as to contract a dreadful disorder. The king on hearing of it, being very anxious about the health of his son, sent Abdul Fazel§ as quickly as possible (he was now Divan, that is, Chancellor; but had been the Prince's tutor) to endeavour to reclaim him. But this remedy was applied too late; for Abdul Fazel on his arrival at Brampore found that the prince's life was 'espairod of; and, indeed, shortly afterwards he died. When the death of the prince was made public, many Ommerauws and anebdars who had been his companions fled. But Abdulzel, summoning Ganganna, Tziedrustof-chan Tzadoch Mamet an and Mirza Tzaroeh to a council, thus addressed them:—
for my part, know not why these Ommerauws have fled; for
necessary for us to accept the death of the king's son
as we should that of any other Ommerauw. The king

ad-Gassem is a terrible corruption of the name Sayyid Kasim, a Sayyid of Barha who died himself in this battle.
the race of Tzadet"—Sádát-

umud Sáfíq Khán, mentioned

above at page. He was sent to the Dakhin in the 40th year of Akbar's reign as *aidíq* to Prince Murád.

§ A very common erroneous spelling for Abul Fazl, the author of the *Ain*.

"survives, and I pray God that he may long survive. I will now take the supreme command of this army; I will distribute the treasures left by the prince to the Mancebdars and soldiers, and will prepare for the war." He performed all the things thus promised, and then advanced five coss towards Chapor,* and pitched his camp on the left of the enemy. The corpse of the prince he sent to Delly; and having caught and brought back many of the Ommeraaws and Mancebdars who had taken to flight, he caused them to be trampled to death by elephants in the middle of the camp. Lastly, he sent letters to the king to this effect:—that on his arrival at Brampore he had found the prince in a dying state, but that he had divided his treasures amongst the soldiers, to increase their enthusiasm for the expedition against Amdanagar. The king, on the receipt of these letters, was greatly distressed at the death of his son; but he wrote in a friendly manner to Fazel, and confirmed him in the supreme command.

In the same year the king made his other son, D'haen-Xa or Xa-Daniel, a commander of seven thousand horse; and sent him to Elabas, with Couteb Mametchan as his chaucellor, and with many other Ommeraaws and graudeea. The prince, on arriving at Elabas, divided his army, so as to be able to pursue the rebel more easily. Fazel in the meantime added to the empire the provinces of Barar and Chandis; and begged the king to come to Agra, for then he might most easily add Amdanager, Visiay and Golconda to his empire. The advice pleased the king; ^{ways of} leaving Lâshore where he had been for the last twelve years ^{manage} came to Agra and there remained a whole year. ^{the dust}

In the year 1005 of the Mahumetan era, and 1595 ^{c to polish} Christian era, it seemed advisable to the king to send ^{not utter-} Xa-Selim against Radzia Rana Mardout, † who was by most potent of all the Radzias of Hindostan, and who had rebelled. With him he sent Tzebaet-chan Cambou, ‡ mander of five thousand, Cha Couligan Mharems, § a commander of three thousand, and Radzia Ziagenat, || also a commander of three thousand, and many other Mancebdars, so that of the prince might be a most powerful one.

TREET.

Udipur, then the capital of Barar. Prince Murâd had founded it, six kos from Bâlsour.

† The Rana of Udâipur. 'Mardout' is *mardâd* 'one accursed,' which charitable epithet is usually bestowed upon him.

‡ Shebbâs Khân-i-Kâmbu.

§ This is Shâh Qulî Mahram-i-Bahârlu. *Mahram* means "one who

is admitted to the Harem; its secrets;" there is a connection with this name. ^{Row,} Shâh Qulî.

|| This is Râjâ Jâ Râjâ Bihârî Mall of served with distinction the wars of the reign this time in possession of Bhur as jagîr.

In the year 1007 A.H., and 1597 A.D., the king himself moved with an army from Agra, with the intention of carrying war into the Deccan. But he had no sooner crossed the river Nerebada, when Radzfa Badur-Xa,* who had possession of the fortress of Hasser,† fortified the same against the king, and collected provisions from the neighbourhood. The king, thinking it dangerous to leave this fortress in his rear, considered how it might be captured. This fortress has three castles; of which the first is called Cho-Tzanin, the second Commerghar: and the third is placed on the very summit of the hill, so that it is a conspicuous object at the distance of six coss. The king with no delay surrounded it on all sides; and so energetically pressed on the siege night and day, that at the end of six months it was on the point of being captured. Badur-Xa however perceiving his danger, having obtained a pledge that his life and property should be safe, came as a suppliant to the king and surrendered himself and all his belongings into his hands. He obtained pardon, and was enrolled with his brothers and relations amongst the numbers of the king's courtiers and pensioners. Whilst the king was at this place, Abdul Fazel came to him, and so worked on his mind that he fully determined to set out for the war in the Deccan; for he thought that if he could only add the Deccan to his empire, and subdue the kings of Chandeis, Visiapor, Golconda, he would then obtain a fame and an extent of glory that would satisfy his ambition. Whilst deliberating on these matters, it is suddenly announced to him that T'zebaer, whom he had appointed as the colleague of Xa-Selim, had died at Assemere; and that the prince had seized his treasures exceeded a *caror*, or ten myriads, of rupees, and with an army of levy of soldiers was marching on Agra with the design of seizing his father of the kingdom. On the receipt of this news, the king altered his plans; and having despatched his son Daniel with Fazel and Chau-Channa and many other officers, towards Amdanagar and Visiapor, he returned to Agra. Whilst Selim in the meantime had come from Assemere to Agra, when he found that there was no hope of his being able to recover possession of the fortress, he went away again, and by a journey of six days through Reheu and Annewar he came to Elhabassa, where he had possession of Sianpore, Bahaer, Kalpi, Lacknou, Onna, and other places; and put in his own Ommerahs as Governors, and his officers, of whom some deserted to him, and

h, king of Khán-
conquest of the
called it Dándes,
l.

† Asirgarh, described in *De Laet's Topography*.

‡ Shabbáz Khán; see above.

others more loyal fled to Achabar, leaving all their property. When the king came to Agra, he began anxiously to consider by what means he might induce the prince to return to his duty. Wherefore at first he sends letters to his son, pointing out to him the rashness of his conduct and the certainty that God would punish his disobedience; and promising at the same time that, if he would abandon his wicked designs and come as a suppliant to his father, his transgressions should be forgiven and himself restored to the favour which he had formerly enjoyed. But Xa-Selim made light of his father's threats and warnings; and having got possession of all the country as far as Hassipore* and Pathana, he begged Radzia Manzing, who was Viceroy of Bengal, to come to him and deliver up to him that province; but in vain.

In that year Daniel Xa who was carrying on the war in the Decan, moved with all his army towards Amadanagar, and came to Ganderzin. But Tziand Bebie with all the Generals of her father, Nezam Xa, shut herself up in the fortress of Amadanagar, and prepared to sustain a siege. That fortress is most strongly fortified; for it is placed on a lofty site, and is surrounded by a very deep ditch into which many springs of water flow. But the prince and the valiant leaders who were with him, Checl, Abdul Fazel, Chan-Chauna, and Tzied-justof-chan, with no further delay surrounded the city with their forces; and having pressed the siege most vigorously for six months, in the seventh they length succeeded in capturing the city. Tziand-Bebie had already committed suicide by taking poison.† Immense treasures into the hands of the royal troops. At length Sultan Dways of Godzia Beeck-myrza‡ being made Governor of the fortress, ^{manage} ed Gandes and Berar to his father's empire, and returned ^{the dust} to Brampore. Here ambassadors arrived with very rich presents ^{to polish} with letters of submission from the Kings of Golconda ^{not utter-} Visiapore; but he afterwards gave himself up entirely to
ness.

At the same time Xa-Selim sent Godzia Ziahana § to pretending that he was very sorry for having offended the king immediately wrote in answer, and told him that he hoped for pardon as soon as ever he would come and throw himself at his father's feet. Ziahana also, having remained at ^{TREET.} months, returned to him, and so wrought upon him, ^{him} to determine to return to his father as a suppliant journey, however, he wrote to his father, that he was ^{ROW.}

* Hajipur and Patna.

† The usual account given of the death of Chaud Bibi is that she was murdered by a certain Eunuch. The name of the Eunuch is, however, given variously by Abul Fazl and by Firishtah.

‡ I suppose this

Mirza.

§ This is doubtless mad of Kabul, who ^{Bakshi}, and was at him the title of K.

his pardon, but that he besought him to grant two things:—inasmuch as he had with him an army of seventy thousand picked men, he begged that his Generals might be allowed to retain everything that he had given or was about to give them; and that the king would not regard them as rebels. When he succeeded in obtaining neither of these requests, he returned to Halebassa; and began to coin gold and silver money in his own name, which he even sent to his father, to irritate him the more. The king, enraged at this, wrote an account of all that had happened, to Abdul-Fazel; who bade the king be of good courage, for he would come to him as quickly as possible; and added that his son should be brought bound to him, either by fair means or by foul. Accordingly, a little afterwards, having obtained leave of absence from Daniel Xa, he took to the road with about two or three hundred horsemen, leaving orders for his baggage to follow him. Xa-Selim; to whom all these things were known, recalling how hostile Fazel had always been towards him, and hence justly fearing that his father would be more exasperated than ever against himself, judged it best to intercept him on his journey. So he begged Radzia Bersingh Bondela,* who lived in his province of Osseen, to lie in wait near Soor and Gauler,† and to send his head to him; promising that he would be mindful of so great a benefit, and would give him the command of five thousand cavalry. The Radzia consented; and waited with a thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry about three or four coss from Gualer, having sent out scouts into the neighbouring villages to give him early notice of the approach of Fazel. Accordingly when the latter came to the ambuscade, had come as far as Collehaga‡ and was going towards Soor, Radzia Bersingh and his followers fell upon him on all sides. Fazel and his horsemen fought bravely, but overpowered by numbers, they were gradually worn out. Fazel himself, having received twelve wounds in the fight, was taken by a captive slave under a neighbouring tree and beheaded. His head was sent to the prince, who was pleased. But the king on hearing of the slaughter of his son, who he loved above all others, was beyond measure grieved for three days withdrew from all public affairs. This was not the end of his misfortunes; for not long afterwards his son, Xa-Daniel, through excessive drunkenness, was hanged to him. This so much affected him, that he was weary of his life. But being consoled by those about him, he married Gangauna (with whom he was excessively angry

* the notorious Birah, wrongly called Birah, instone, Rájá of Malwah and Koláras.

† This is Kálábágh, between Shá-dorah and Koláras; see the description of the province of Malwah in my *Geography of the Mogul Empire*, page 27.

for not having taken more care of the prince) from Brampore to the court, and on his arrival refused to admit him to his presence. At length, however, being persuaded by the Ommerauws, he received him into favour as before; and having increased his rank by giving him the title of "Chief of the Camp," he sent him back to the army in the Deccan.

And now the king, being stimulated by resentment, determined to march against his son; and had already crossed the Semena with an immense army, when his mother's illness was announced to him, which brought him back to Agra. She however died two days after his return; and was magnificently interred in the monument of Hamayon, her husband, in the city of Delly. Having performed the fitting rites for his mother, the king sent to his son, Miratsedderan* who had formerly been his tutor, with a letter; in which he first scolded his son sharply and then pointed out to him, that he was now the only surviving son, and that no one could deprive him of the throne—moreover that if he would only beg his father's pardon, he might easily obtain forgiveness for all that was past, and be restored to favour which he formerly enjoyed. He added to this also secret commands. With this letter Miratseddera went to prince, and at length induced him to come to beg his father's pardon. Xa-Selim accordingly with his son, Perwees, dep. with his army from Elhabassa in the 1013 A.H. or 1603 He crossed the Semena; and two days afterward, on an auspicious day which his astrologers had discovered for him, with his Ommerauws he came to the fort of Agra, where he was introduced to his father by Mortosa Chan. When, according to the custom of the nation, he had prostrated himself before his father's throne, the king, seizing him by the hand, dragged him to the mahael (i.e., the inner chamber); and there in his utmost fury struck him several times in the face, reproaching him bitterly for his wicked conduct to his father, and more for his pusillanimity in coming like a coward to beg pardon though he had had an army of seventy thousand at his disposal. He treated him in this way, he commanded him to be taken to building and kept in custody. The Ommerauws also except Radzia Batso (who had taken to flight in time) were loaded with chains, and cast into prison. Xa-Selim, who was daily accustomed to use opium, now was kept in prison twenty-four hours; but the next day the king committed him some with his own hand. On the third day the concubines went to the king, and obtained the

* This seems to be a corruption of the name of the Mirán Sadr Jahán, mentioned above.

The Mortosa Chan and Radzia Bat-

so, mentioned a little in my *History of the* *taza Khán* (or *S. mentioned in my* *Rajah Bánu of*

and so he was sent away to his own house, from which he came forth every day with a large retinue, according to the national custom, to do obeisance to his father. But soon the courtiers filled the mind of the suspicious old man with the fear that his son was meditating his destruction; so afterwards the prince was only admitted to the palace with four attendants.

At length the king being enraged with Myrza Gazia,* the son of Zian who was Governor of Sindh and Tatta, on account of an arrogant speech which happened to fall from him, determined to poison him; and to this end he ordered his physician to prepare two pills of the same shape and size, and to put poison in one of them. The latter he proposed to give Gazia, and to take the wholesome one himself. But by an extraordinary mistake, the operation was reversed; for the king, after he had rolled about the pills in his hand for some time, gave the harmless one to Gazia and himself took the poisoned one. Later when the error was discovered and the effect of the poison began to be felt in his veins, antidotes were in vain administered to him. And so the king, before his life was actually despaired of, put upon the hated Selim his own Tulbant, and girded him with the sword of his father Hamayou; but commanded him to be shut out of the palace, and not to be allowed to come near him until he was dead. The king, however, died on the twelfth day after, in the year 1014 A.H. after having reigned most prosperously for fifty

E. LETHBRIDGE.

(To be continued).

is Mirzá Ghází Beg, son of Jání Beg mentioned above in the account given of him by Mann in the notes on the following:—"At the death of Akbar, he was only seven years old; and though not at that time conferred Sindh on him, he was afterwards conferred by Mirzá Isá Tark-mirzá Ján Babá which Mirzá Ghází Beg and his father had at their disposal. They have made them in- volved against Akbar; but he promptly Saif Khán and Abdullah to Bhakkar, where Beg came to Court, he was in the Govern- ment. After the accession of Shah Ghází Beg received Sindh, was given to Sindh, was valued of seven thousand, and five Kandahár."

I have already noticed in the Introduction, the extraordinary account which is here given of the circumstances of Akbar's death. It is, I believe, found nowhere else. The circumstantial nature of the account, De Laet's general trustworthiness and discretion, and the obvious absence of all motive for inventing such a story, entitle it (I think) to the very careful attention of historians. What is greatly in its favour is the fact that all other accounts of Akbar's death have been derived either from the narrative of Jahangir himself, or from other sources almost equally interested in maintaining the good reputation of the Imperial family; and it was consequently hardly likely that these would narrate circumstances so damaging to Akbar as those of his attempt to poison Mirzá Ghází Beg.

202 Note on the History of the Cholera in India.

called *mordexin*, which stealeth upon men, and handleth them "in such sort that it weakeneth a man, and maketh him cast all he hath in his body, and many times his life withal. This sickness is very common, and killeth many a man, whereof they hardly or never escape."

- The above disease may be reasonably presumed to be cholera.

The writings of Père Pagine, Jesuit (1709), disclose that a malady known as *mordechi*, was raging about Hugli, where he sojourned, which we may fairly surmise to be cholera.

Other authorities might also be cited; but those above quoted will, doubtless, suffice to establish the fact that epidemic cholera in India does not date subsequent to our acquiring the government of the country, and was certainly in no wise influenced thereby.

the HULNA, JESSOR : }
apaz, ay 21st, 1873. }

H. JAMES RAINEY.

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SALAMIS.

IN Susa's silken chambers
 King Xerxes sits in state,
 His satraps and his counsellors
 Hold grave and stern debate.
 And upon them falls, in those ancient halls,
 A silence deep and dread,
 As the Master speaks, whose lightest breath
 Might lay them with the dead.

" We may not sleep, while the voices deep
 Of the days and the years that are gone,
 Cry ' Vengeance for our good lords slain
 On the field of Marathon !'
 Aye thro' my dreams a Phantom gleams,
 And the ghost of my outraged Sire
 Calls clear and loud, as he glides like a cloud
 From the realms of the Lord of fire.

My heart may not know happiness,
 Nor may my soul find peace,
 Till we have swept with fire and sword
 Thro' the haughty land of Greece.
 Till Sparta's hills re-echo
 With the Spartan virgins' wails,
 And hated Athens smile no more
 Over her vine-clothed vales.

*' many ways of
 : able to manage
 but as the dust
 yet serve to polish
 they were not utter-*

Then glory to the Persian !
 Our name and fame shall spread
 From the far uprising of the sun
 To his Western ocean-bed.
 To our empire o'er the whole wide world
 Our conquest shall give birth,
 And Zeus shall reign as King of H.
 • But Xerxes Lord of Earth ! "

TINCK STREET.
 ING & CO.
 SM & CO.
 60 PATERNOSTER ROW,
 IN CALCUTTA.

Salamis.

Over the mighty realm full soon
 The Master's speech flashed far,
 And his subject myriads rose in strength,
 And armed them for the war.
 As the charger bounds, when first he knows
 His rider's spurring heel,
 Or as the slumbering waves leap up,
 When the storm-wind's breath they feel.

Thrills thro' the land the battle-cry,
 O'er mountain and o'er glen,
 Thunder the voices of the chiefs,
 The tramp of armed men. •
 Ever the war-smith's forge glows red,
 Floats ever thro' the air
 The clang of steel, the steed's fierce neigh,
 The trumpet's martial blare.

Each city and each province
 Pours forth her wealth untold,
 For the bright array of the battle-day,
 Rich store of gems and gold.
 Armies on armies o'er the plain
 Their giant wings expand,
 And gallant war-fleets start to life
 From the skilful workman's hand.

Hosts are met at Sardis,
 And a murmur deep and loud
 Rises into thunder of acclaim
 From the vast and motley crowd,
 As golden spear-heads flash to heaven,
 As they march in stately ring,
 Around the sacred car of Zeus,
 The chariot of the King.

How great as Xerxes?
 How his proud heart glow,
 From his lofty seat he scans
 The hosts below.
 Behind him, and beyond
 The horizon's rim,
 Myriads of the East!
 All in him.

More voiceful than the plumaged throng,*
 That haunt Cayster's stream,
 Glitter the many-vestured tribes,
 With barbarous arms they gleam.
 Some skilled to draw the bow of might,
 Some curb the foaming steed,
 The Bactrian, the Scythian,
 The Persian and the Mede.

The Ethiopian archer
 Sprung from the far sunrise,
 The fierce Bithynian javelin-man,
 With robe of varied dyes.
 From Susa and Ecbatana
 Stream forth the well-loved bands,
 And lonely Sardis mourns beside
 Pactolus' golden sands.

Now over Helle's stormy frith,
 Where, rolling ridge on ridge,
 The great white waves rush foaming up,
 He throws his mighty bridge.
 Deep in their scourged and branded breasts
 He hurls his fetters down;
 Nought reck's he of the outraged gods,
 Of grim Poseidon's frown.

Like bees the swarming nations
 Are scattered o'er the plain,
 By the neck of land where Athos
 Juts out into the main.
 Like beasts beneath the lash they toil,
 To work his stern behest,
 Right thro' the severed belt full soon
 Two war-ships ride abreast.

*'many ways of
 e able to manage
 ' but as the dust
 yet serve to polish
 ay were not utter-*

Thee, tempest-swept Abydos!
 Eternal fame awaits,
 Ne'er shall the wondering world for
 That passage o'er the straits. **TINCK STREET.**
 Lo on his marble throne the **KING & CO.**
 Joy sparkling in his face, **AM & CO.**
 As he sees the swift Sidonian ship **PATERNOSTER ROW,**
 Rush foremost in the race. **IN CALCUTTA.**

Iliad, Book 2, lines 527 to 533. *Lor* :

Fast, fast across the bridges twain,
 That span the vanquished deep,
 From Asia into Europe
 The fierce invaders sweep.
 Over the thick-strewn myrtle boughs,
 While the rich smoke overhead
 Streams fragrance round, the garland-crowned
 Immortals gaily tread.

Now westward from Doriscus
 The Persian host pours forth,
 By Thracia's woody mountain steeps,
 And rivers of the North.
 Where from wild haunts of savage men,
 The barbarous war-chant thrills
 Old Strymon's icy waves, and floats
 O'er the Rhodopeian hills.

Now over fairer fields they spread,
 Where softer shapes have birth,
 Where Penæus gently seeks the sea,
 And makes a heaven of earth.
 Where the bright god-haunted mountains guard
 The sweet Thessalian vale,
 And eastward, o'er the sunlit sea,
 Fleets many a snowy sail.

Thus the tidings of the foe
 Flashed Greece-wards o'er the main,
 On the dwellers on the coast, to those
 Who till the inland plain.
 The hearts of men grew chill with dread,
 All horror and dismay,
 The waves of war rolled on apace,
 Who those waves might stay?

Greece was sapped by faction-hate,
 The traitor-thirst for gold,
 Waxed, as droops the sun-parched rose,
 Were bought and sold.
 She feuds her treasure,
 Her best blood was spent,
 Her wall was rent asunder,
 Her robe is rent.

Salamis.

But, true to Freedom's call, rose up,
Those rival Queens renowned,
Sparta, stern Mother of the brave,
And Athens violet-crowned.
Her calm majestic brow still flushed
With the Marathonian fame,
Still sounds thro' her indignant heart
That tempest of acclaim.

No power in heaven or earth, they deem,
May soothe the wrath divine,
Dire the prophetic tones that burst
From Phœbus' awful shrine.
Where mid dim vapour-clouds that wreath
The mystic Tripod seat,
The god-possessed weird Priestess shrieks
In Delphi's dark retreat.

'Athena's sacred streets are doomed,
So wills the Olympian Lord,
Our homes, our temples well-beloved,
Even Pallas' shrine adored.
Trust only to our wooden walls,
Our empire o'er the wave,'
Thus spoke the light of those dark days
Themistocles the brave.

Then as toil-wearied rowers,
When labouring out at sea,
Lost in the moonless murk midnight,
With rocks and sands a-lee,
Take heart, when o'er the roaring sur
The Captain's shout sounds clear,
Even so to that great voice the crew
Made answer with a cheer.

So, when the sun next rose above
Hymettus' purple hill,
He glanced on faces white with
But nobly daring still.
On gray old men, and boys too
To bear the spear and shield,
On matrons fair, and maidens f
As violets of the field.

High to the inauspicious heaven
 Their suppliant arms they raise,
 'Zeus, save us from this dread war-cloud,
 • That darkens all our days.
 So shall our virgins weave the dance,
 And chant the choral strain,
 And render grateful thanks to thee
 In Pallas' holy fane.'

Thus they—while fast and fierce sweep on
 The war-ships of the foe,
 Off stern Magnesia's rock-bound coast
 With press of sail they go.
 And reckless of the tears and prayers
 That storm the Olympian throne,
 Fast anchor, but Poseidon smiled,
 And marked them for his own.

And rude and rough the sounds next morn,
 That woke them from their sleep,
 From Boreas from his ocean-cave
 Came thundering o'er the deep.
 As a lion rends a flock,
 At great wind overbore,
 Broke their mighty war-array,
 And hurled them on the shore.

And be Poseidon !' cry the Greeks,
 Who helps us in our need,
 Leading northwards, 'gainst the foe
 Gallantly they speed.
 O'er those wild storm-beaten cliffs,
 Mighty and more loud
 The strife of men, the wrath of Zeus
 From the thunder-cloud.

And tidings dread came o'er,
 Leonidas
 The flower of deathless fame,
 In the pass ;
 On the coast they sail, and moor
 And murmuring billows kiss
 The shore, and play
 At Salamis.

Now thro' the rugged Phocian tracts
The Persian hordes pour on,
Past stern Parnassus' snow-crowned peak,
Towards milder Helicon.
The war-fires light Cephissus' waves,
Cithæron feels the glow,
And the olive-sprinkled Attic vale
Lies smiling far below.

Stream the sad people from their homes,
Black Death was in delay,
Swift toward the friendly ships they wend
Their melancholy way.
To well-loved Athens' desolate streets
They breathe a fond farewell,
Fast, as her temple'd heights grew dim,
Their burning tears down fell.

Demeter's fane is lone and still,
This year no bright array
Rolls thro' the olive-groves, nor skirts
The margin of the bay.
Nor presses up the sacred hill,
Thro' the lordly temple-gate,
To keep the fair year's holies rites
With venerable state.

Then whence that mighty cloud of dust,
And whence the choral strain,
That echoing from Eleusis' shrine,
Floats sea-ward o'er the plain?
Such awful sounds are not of earth,
Nor breathed by mortal man,
The Gods are come to fight for Grec
And conquer in the van!

But the foe have ta'en the city prone
And scaled the holy height,
And terribly leaps up to heaven
That blaze of lurid light,
Where the venerated tree divine
And the lofty fanes that tower
O'er Pallas' tutelary hill,
Have felt the Fire-God's power

Salamis.

Meanwhile the Persian fleet speeds on,
The three-banked galleys sweep
Around the mainland, and the isles
That gem the dark-blue deep.
They double Sunium's height divine,
And off Phalerum bay,
That vast and threatening cloud of sail
Hangs stretching far away.

And now at Salamis the chiefs,
Th' Within the Admiral's tent,
Gave counsel, grave the issue
Of that high argument.
Yet, as each well-skilled speaker
And the weighty choice debates,
They meet them on the open sea,
And fight them in the straits,
And the fast-darkening twilight
Ere strode into the hall,
And the majestic as a god,
That silence fell on all.
Among them they gazed, when thro' the throng
A silent murmur ran,
And 'tis Aristides,
The great Athenian!
"Welcome is he to our ranks,
Our council-board!"
And by grace he took his place,
The mighty exiled lord.
And in the midst he spoke to them
In language bold and clear,
O ye gods, and your own good swords,
Your help is near.
Your white sails fleck the sea,
From the dawn,
And south, from shore to shore,
Your lines are drawn!
And art among them
In prose,
In tidings
Of our foes!

Salamis.

In danger lies our safety,
No hope in recreant flight,
We give them battle in the morn,
May Zeus defend the right !”

All night the Persian navy watched
Each outlet of the bay,
All night the Grecian galleys
In anchored order lay,
And with keen eyes the Captains scanned
The motions of the foe.
Ever, like shooting-stars, their ships
Were fleeing to and fro.

But the Greek fleet off Salamis
At first flush of the day,
Plunges amain, while round their prows
Roars the sun-smitten spray.
Lo where yon glorious trireme,
With streamers floating free,
Smiles like a stately Warrior-Queen,
O'er the sail-sprinkled sea.

High on her deck the Admiral*
All in the people's sight,
Speaks to them words of noble cheer,
That brace them for the fight.
“ Fear not yon vaunting myriads,
Whate'er betide, be sure,
Zeus loves the virgin city,
And manfully endure !”

Then the Greeks shouted loud and
And all the heaving seas,
And the rocky shores, sent back to
“ All hail, Themistocles !
All hail, all hail, Themistocles !
Great name, while Time shall
We'll chase the Persian o'er the
Ere this bright day be past !

* * The Athenian Admiral, Themistocles.
Commander-in-Chief

Salamis.

Where the faint-hearted traitor,
 Who burns not for a place
 In this supreme death-struggle,
 This more than mortal race?
 The race where sage Themistocles,
 Lord of the daring soul,
 And lofty Aristides,
 Are straining for the goal.

The race where every runner
 Th Wears on his brow the wreath
 Of everlasting glory,
 Off the fame that conquers death."

Vt, yon fair shapes, of godlike mould,
 And yon heaven flashes in their mien!
 Th since Pelides fought 'gainst Troy,
 Astr are such dread warriors seep.
 An the self-same war-cry that of old
 e the clear o'er Ida's height,
 i rtg ho-sons of Æacus
 ha p ushing to the fight.

unm yon Chief, his eyes lit up
 as sacred fire divine!
 it as than Phoebus' self is he,
 ro sprung of earthly line.
 h immortal tragic crown,
 d b the rhythmic glow,
 he high Bard sways the hearts
 of men below.

in their line resounding,
 than war-chants swell
 as battle-music
 str for-hearts love well.
 of the fane of Heracles,
 his seat of gold,
 s at in royal state
 to behold.

th n princes of the East
 e aster throng,
 a ws, as his glance he throws
 y ranks along.

Salamis.

Ameinias of Pallene

• Was first into the fray,
Deep in a galley of the foe
• He cleft a dread sea-way.
The keen Greek falchion flashes high,
Low lies the turbaned head,
Proud o'er the deck of the captured wreck
The Athenian victors tread.

Then forthwith every Captain
Cheered loud, while ship at ship
On-darting, soon lay prow to side
With fast and deadly grip.
Ever as they dashed onward,
In thrilling tones and deep
The solemn Pean soared above
The swift oars' measured sweep:

Then spear pierced shield, while stroke o'
The roar of either host,
And shrieks of dying men awoke
The echoes of the coast.
Many the high-souled warrior
Laid low on that proud day,
Many who hailed the morn, ere eve
Had gasped their lives away.

But furiously the Greeks strain on,
They press the fierce attack,
They hem the Persians in the strait
And force them yielding back,
And drive them shattered on the r
At set of sun the wave
Rolled red, and weary with the w'
And corpses of the brave.

Rend, rend thy purple robes, O
Rush from thy throne away,
Down swoops keen Aristides
As a falcon on his prey.
And Persia's best and bravest
Press to the front no more,
Her glory and her pride lie
On Psyttaleia's shore.

Salamis.

So the great fight was won—as Day
Sank in her twilight grave
The furious battle-shout grew faint,
And died upon the wave.
But the foe hath ta'en his routed ships,
They speed in craven flight,
Whill Fear pursues them, as they rush
Into the depths of night.

Then fled the Despot with a shriek,
He wept and tore his hair,
A lion in the toils he raged
Off in frenzy of despair.
Yesterday the King of Kings,
And the whole world at his feet,
Thence sees he nought save shameful death,
A terrible retreat.

At the poor remnant of his host,
Hath shed down with dark disgrace,
On the rocky Phocian plains,
Among storm-swept hills of Thrace.
In splendour, nor in state
The Great King go back!
It mine haunts him as he flies,
His true is on his track.

And ye Greeks this choral hymn
Sing unto the sky,
For the high Gods fought for Greece,
For the victory!

Thou mighty Father,
The Olympian height,
Star virgin Pallas,
The Lord of light!
Thee lead Poseidon,
Thee stormy main,
Thee ireme at his feet,
Thee in the Labyrinthian fane.
Thee in the temple
Of the spoil,
Thee in the guerdon

Salamis.

Agina, great thy glory,
First in the deathless race.
Even Athens pales before thee,
And Sparta yields thee place !

Twine for the two great Leaders
The simple olive-crown,
Thus thro' the endless ages
Shall their high names go down.

And for our fallen warriors
Let no vain tears be shed,
Lay down in Cera.nicus
The blest Athenian dead.

There shall they sleep for ever,
But the Sculptor's snowy bust,
The Poet's victor-laurel
Shall consecrate their dust.

And when each vast Procession,
That down the sacred Road
Streams onward to Eleusis,
Shall pass their loved abode,
With sweet melodious praises
Shall the bright air be loud,
As the mighty battle-story thrills
The great heart of the crowd.

Rebuild thy shrines, fair Athens !*
Restore each holy fane,
Bring from his island-exile
Thy hero-king † again.

Lo, where the broidered Peplos
Waves o'er yon long array
Of Matrons, Priests, and Victims
On Pallas' festal day !.

This and the following stanzas must of
c imaginary anticipation of the future

† Theseus.

"That long and splendid procession of Mir
• Horsemen and of Chariots," &c.-

Salamis.

Lo, where they sweep triumphant
Thro' the stately colonnades,
On, where the Hero statues
Shine thro' the sacred shades.
Up, where the mighty Goddess
O'er land and sea looks down,
Bearing the lance for sceptre,
The helmet for a crown.

Through her thrice-glorious Temple,
Where the Twelve Gods await
The chariots and the horsemen,
That throng the Western gate.
Here glow the rich-hued marbles,
And, wrought with godlike ease,
The warrior and the war-horse
Breathe from the frieze.

At last they enter
Theus' walls divine,
To the awful Virgin
Her most holy shrine ;

Flashes bright before them
The silver-footed throne,
The great sea-battle
Whirling thoughts have flown.
The Persian war-ships
In the fight once more,
Their proud forefathers
March along the shore.

How dim the glory,
In years succeed,
When the sons of Greece sailed forth
With the Medæ.
Generations,
They live again,
The of Freedom
In hearts of men."

C. A. KELLY.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME LVII.

1873.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

N^o CXIV.

ART. I.—ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE.

WHEN the calamity of the Mutiny fell upon our Indian Empire, and the event of that terrible struggle hung in uncertainty, the nature of the crisis was studied and its progress watched with the deepest sympathy by two foreigners of European celebrity, Alexis de Tocqueville and the Count de Montalembert. It would be difficult to find two persons more competent to form an enlightened judgment on the advantages or the evils of the English dominion in India. Both were men who had devoted brilliant talents to the cause of liberty and civilization, and both blended the ardent studies of the philosopher with the practical experience of the statesman. As foreigners they stood aloof from those party struggles which bias the minds of Englishmen on all national questions, and they were free from that peculiar spirit which often leads Englishmen to pass heavy censures on the acts of their own countrymen. On the other hand they were both so far connected with England by family ties, the one by marriage the other by descent, as to possess a knowledge of her institutions and history unusual in foreigners. It is not a little gratifying to those who amid the toils and trials of Indian life cheer themselves with the thought that they are not selfishly labouring for themselves alone, but are employed on a great and noble work, a work which is already bearing good fruit and will hereafter do so more abundantly, to be supported in this hope by the opinions of two such men. It was cheering in the midst of these our greatest difficulties to find that while some of our own countrymen saw, in the mutinies, the rising of a people against a foreign ruler and hated institutions, these more impartial lookers-on saw only one of the struggles of barbarism against civilization, and hopefully predicted it a final one.

Count de Montalembert's mother was the daughter of a Bombay Civilian, the amiable author of the "Oriental Memoirs;" and

may be thought to have had an hereditary affection for our Indian rule. But Tocqueville, far from any such bias, had made the subject of our Indian Empire his careful study. He had explored the history of our dependencies there with the view of finding the principles which should guide France in the government of Algeria, and had been led by these studies, not only to plan, but to commence a work on the settlement of the English in India. It will ever be a subject of deep regret that this design was interrupted by the distractions of public life and finally abandoned. It is difficult to overrate the value which such a work would have possessed. But it was left in a state which precluded its publication, and in the collected works of Tocqueville, lately completed by his biographer, this work does not find a place. There are, however, passages, both in his finished works and scattered throughout his correspondence and the remains now published, which give some indications of the writer's views with regard to our Indian rule. We have thought it may not be uninteresting to our readers, who have not yet made themselves familiar with the writings of this great thinker, if we endeavour to glean and bring together some of the more important of these passages; and the task will certainly not be without use if any are thereby induced to make a closer study of the author. The writings of Tocqueville have taken their place by the side of those of Montesquien, and must ever form one of the best studies of Indian statesmen.

We are the more induced to undertake this review because many of the works of Tocqueville have never been translated into English, and the collected edition may not often be accessible in India.

But as the opinions of an author are valued in proportion to our assurance of his competency to form a sound judgment, and we are interested in knowing the process of study and experience by which his mind was trained and his judgment ripened, we propose in this article to give a short sketch of Tocqueville's life, as given by his friend and biographer, and, if we are not greatly mistaken, many of our readers will be interested by this slight sketch of the career of one who was not "rocked and dandled" into statesmanship, but won his position by much the same trials as are now moulding so many statesmen in this country.

Alexis Charles Henry Clerel de Tocqueville was born at Paris on the 29th July, 1805. His father, the Count de Tocqueville, one of the landed gentry of Normandy, held under the Restoration successively the prefectures of Metz, of Amiens, and of Versailles, and was a peer of France. He was also an author of some eminence, having written successfully on the reigns of Louis XV. and Louis XVI. His mother, of the family of Pelletier

de Rosambo, was a granddaughter of Malesherbes. Tocqueville's early education was conducted at home, and he is described by his biographer as having learnt little, "if we can count as little, good manners and good sentiments." And we may here remark that through life family ties and domestic affections retained their hold on Tocqueville's heart in an eminent degree. His studies properly began with his entrance to the College of Metz, on his father being appointed Prefect of that town. There, though weak in Latin and Greek, he from the first took the lead in French composition; and in 1822 he carried off the prize of rhetoric and thus closed with distinction his academical career.

But the real studies of Tocqueville were now to commence, and the true bent of his intellect to be discovered. In 1826 he set out in company with an elder brother on a journey which took them through Italy and into Sicily. With that diligence which he evinced through life, he went through the course of ordinary students. He visited every museum, noted every picture and every medal, and began a careful study of the principles of architecture. He even commenced a work of imagination. In the style of our early essayists, after a day of fatigue in exploring the ruins of Rome, he supposes himself to have ascended the Capitol on the side of the Campo Vaccino, and there overcome with fatigue to have thrown himself on the ground, and fallen asleep. While he sleeps Rome in all her ancient grandeur appears before him, and so on, in the style of the writers of France, Italy, and England a century ago. But this was evidently not the bent of Tocqueville's mind, which, however, was soon to appear. "In his journey in Sicily where he was a witness of the miseries which a detestable government inflicted upon the people, he was led to meditate on those first principles upon which the prosperity or misery of peoples depends." To study, analyse, and describe living new and modern institutions was henceforth his congenial task.

He was now to be introduced to official life, and in 1826 on reaching his majority was recalled from his travels by his appointment as "Juge auditor" at Versailles, where his father was now Prefect.

"Had Alexis de Tocqueville been an ordinary man," his biographer observes, "his career might have been considered to be now marked out. His name, his family, his social position, his career, all seemed to point out the road to be followed. Grandson of Malesherbes, was he not sure of reaching the highest post of the magistracy even without effort, and by the mere efflux of time. Young, amiable, related to all the best families, justified in aspiring to one of the highest matrimonial connexions, and such indeed had already been offered to him, he

" would have espoused some rich heiress. His life confined to a narrow circle, would henceforward have flowed on gently and respectably, it is true, in the regular fulfilment of the duties of his office, surrounded by the comforts which a good salary affords, in the midst of the interests, limited but certain, of the magistracy and of the modest and peaceful enjoyments of private life."

The life thus pictured was not suited to the tastes or the character of Tocqueville, who from the first was resolved to owe his advancement to himself alone; and, as the office which he held did not offer any opening to his talents, he solicited and obtained permission to take part in the duties of the "Ministère public."

It was in the discharge of these duties that he gained the friendship of a colleague, his future biographer, who is able to describe the rest of his career from personal knowledge, and recalls with pleasure the indications which his friend then afforded of future eminence; and dwells with fond recollection on their mutual studies and mutual aspirations. In many respects we are forcibly reminded of the biography of one of our own countrymen between whom and our present subject we see a remarkable similarity, we mean Francis Horner. "Is it necessary," Tocqueville's biographer writes, "to say that a mind so greedy of independence, of space, often roved beyond the narrow sphere of the law, to which the duties of his profession alone attached him, to enter on the arena, at that time so freely open, of the general questions of politics. When the task of judicial functions was accomplished, as soon as the duties of the sessions and the bar were fulfilled, the two colleagues, now friends, united by the tie of common tastes, as well as similarity of ideas and opinions, threw themselves upon their self-selected studies, and above all those which had history for their object. Then what diligence! what emulation! what charms in this life of labour! what sincerity in the pursuit of all that is true! what reaching forward to the future, to a future unbounded, unclouded, such as the generous passions and the trust of youth open out to the ardent spirits and generous hearts, at an epoch believing and impassioned.

" Those who know not that epoch (1827-28), and who know only the self-indulgence and indifference of the present, can scarcely comprehend the glow of those days. Twelve years had elapsed since the Empire fell. For the first time had France known liberty and loved her. That liberty a consolation for some, a sovereign good to others, had created a new country for all. Institutions had taken the place of a single man. New manners, the development of individual instincts in the

"midst of profound peace, opinions, necessities till then unknown, all had contributed to pour new life into a nation born again. Yes, it must be admitted that then, within the old parties of the Revolution and of the Empire, whose liberalism was but a lie; in the midst of differences inherent in liberty itself, there was then a France sincerely liberal, passionately attached to her new institutions, jealous to sustain them, prompt to take alarm at their dangers, and seeing in their maintenance or in their fall the success or the reverse of her own destiny. It was the first time that the great problem of constitutional liberty was seriously tried in France."

We have given this passage at length, because viewed by the light of subsequent events, the Revolution of 1830, the overthrow of Louis Philippe, the Republic, the Second Empire, it seems to put forcibly before us the trials for which such a mind as Tocqueville's had to arm itself in entering on public life.

Tocqueville was himself, both from hereditary feelings and calm judgment, sincerely attached to constitutional monarchy; but his enquiring and almost anxious turn of mind showed him only too clearly the dangers which were gathering round it in France. "Eminently practical in all his speculations, he studied the past only with a view to the present, and he studied foreign countries only with reference to his own." He was an ardent lover of liberty, but he felt that in France the tendency of the revolution which he saw now in progress was towards equality not towards liberty; and indeed in this spirit of equality he saw the greatest danger that liberty had to fear. "Already those great problems had set themselves to his mind which were to occupy his life and for the study of which he was one day to interrogate the New World. How could that equality which separates and isolates men, how could it consist with liberty? How could that power which emanates from democracy be prevented from becoming a tyranny? Where find a force to counteract it, where men are all equal it is true, but therefore all equally weak? Is the future of modern society to be at the same time democracy and despotism? Such were the questions which from this time occupied his thoughts and troubled his mind."

The Revolution of July came and realised many of Tocqueville's anticipations, and some of his fears. In the fall of the elder branch of the House of Bourbon he saw a severe blow to constitutional monarchy. But the constitution of 1830 was a second, and perhaps a last, attempt to establish this principle in France; and Tocqueville gave in his adhesion though he was far from sharing the enthusiasm of the day. Within six months he was on his way to America.

More than ever convinced that France was hastening towards

democracy, and that in this direction lay her perils, he longed to study the institutions of that great country in which democracy and liberty were then co-existent. He proposed to his colleague and friend to join him, and the proposal was received with alacrity; but, being both of them in official employment, the sanction of Government was necessary. Among the many subjects which these days of revolution and reform had brought forward that of prison discipline was one, and a proposal of the two young men, to visit and report on the prisons of America, was favourably received by the Minister of the Interior; and they were soon on their way to the United States, with all the advantage of official position and a public mission. "It has often been said," adds M. de Beaumont, "that this mission was the cause of Tocqueville's journey. The truth is it was not the *cause* but the *means*. "The real and predetermined object of the journey was, the study "of the institutions and manners of America."

Thus at the early age of twenty-five, had Tocqueville adopted those opinions which formed the settled convictions of his life and round which all his observations on existing societies, and all his studies of past history, naturally grouped themselves; and he now entered upon that course of mingled travel and literary research which in three short years, one of travel and two of study, placed him in the highest rank of the thinkers of his time and of the literature of his country. "The tendency of society towards democracy and equality was ever before him. In his own country, on the continent of Europe, in England, in the events passing before his eyes, in every page of the history of every Christian country for the last seven hundred years, he saw one constant irresistible movement towards equality. He has since described his book as composed under the influence of a sort of religious dread produced in his mind by the view of that irresistible revolution which, for so many ages, had been marching through every obstacle and which we now see advancing through the ruins which it has made." That in his own country this was a march towards military despotism he was fully persuaded. But was it necessarily so? If there was a country in which equality and liberty co-existed, what were the peculiar institutions of that country to which liberty owed its security. These strong feelings gave an earnestness to his observations and unity to his subject which combined with accuracy of thought and charm of style ensured to the product of his labours immediate and world-wide popularity.

To state what were the answers which the New World yielded to his enquiries would be to analyse the "Democracy in America." This we cannot here attempt. Suffice it to say that in the "decentralization" of its government he saw the safeguard of Ameri-

can liberty; and in the following passage he summed up the practical conclusion of his studies. "Christian nations appear to me to offer in our day a fearful spectacle. The movement which is hurrying them on is already too powerful to be arrested, but it is not yet so rapid that they need despair of guiding it. Their lot is in their own hands—a short time and it will have escaped from them.

"To instruct the democracy, to re-animate, if this be possible, its religious faith; to purify its morals; to regulate its movements; to substitute, little by little, a knowledge of public business for its present want of experience, a knowledge of its true interests for its present blind instincts; to adapt its government to time and place; to modify it according to circumstances and men; such is the first of the duties devolving in our day on those who direct society." (Introduction, p. 9.)

The period during which he was employed on the composition of his work is described by his biographer as having been the happiest of Tocqueville's life. On their return from America the first duty of the two friends was to lay before the Government and the public the result of their official mission, which had been ably and carefully executed. This was done by a report to the minister, and the publication of a volume.—"On the penitentiary system of the United States and on its application in France." But an unexpected circumstance freed Tocqueville from the duties of office and placed his time entirely at his own disposal. His friend M. Beaumont, having declined to plead in a matter in which the part taken by the minister appeared to him in a dishonourable light, had been dismissed from office. Tocqueville, who agreed in the opinion and sentiments of his friend, considered it his duty also to resign, and did so in the following words:—

"M. le Procureur-Général,

"Being at this moment at Toulon where I am engaged in the examination of the 'Bagne' and other prisons of this town, it is only to-day that I have learnt by the '*Moniteur*' of the 10th May, the rigorous, and I must be bold to say the supremely unjust, measure which the Keeper of the Seals has adopted towards M. G. de Beaumont.

"Attached for a long time past by intimate friendship to one who has thus met with dismissal, whose principles I share and whose conduct I approve, I consider it my duty voluntarily to share his lot, and to quit a position in which neither past services nor conscientiousness form any safeguard from undeserved disgrace.

"I have therefore the honour to request you, M. le Procureur Général, to submit to Mr. Keeper of the Seals my resignation of the office of 'Juge Suppliant' at the Tribunal of Versailles."

Tocqueville was thus free to give his whole time and heart to his work. The picture of these two happy years is pleasingly painted by M. Beaumont. Free from official cares, in easy circumstances, happy in a virtuous attachment to one who was to be the companion of his future life, Tocqueville was able to apply his mind, without one distracting anxiety, to the development of those thoughts which had already become fixed convictions. A letter written to his father, on the eve of his departure from America, gives us a vivid impression of the aspirations and fears of the young author modestly conscious of power, on the eve of becoming celebrated.

"This letter, my dear father, will probably be the last that I shall write to you from America. Praise be to God, we hope to embark from New York on the 10th or 20th February, and thirty days being the average length of the passage, we shall arrive in France on the 10th or 20th March.

"At this moment I am turning over many thoughts on America. Most of them are still in my head; a considerable number are already sketched on paper in the first germ and without arrangement, or are contained in conversations which I reduced to writing on returning home in the evening. All these preparatives you shall see; you will find nothing interesting in itself, but you will judge whether anything can be drawn from them. During the last six weeks of our journey, while my body has been more fatigued, and my mind more at rest, than they have been for long past, I have thought much of what might be written on America. To attempt to present a complete picture of the Union would be an undertaking utterly impracticable for one who has passed but a single year in this vast country. I think, besides, that such a work would be quite as tiresome as instructive. One might on the other hand, by selecting one's materials, only offer those subjects which have more or less connexion with our own social condition and politics. A work on this plan might have, at the same time, a permanent and temporary interest. Such is the frame. But shall I ever have the time, and shall I have the ability, necessary for filling it up? There is the question. There is besides one consideration which I have constantly before my mind. Either I will write nothing or I will write what I think; and all truth is not fit to be told. Within two months, I hope, at latest we may talk over all this at our leisure." (*Nouvelle Correspondence*, vol. VII., page 211.)

In January 1835 the two first volumes of the *Democracy in America* were published, and at once established the reputation of Alexis de Tocqueville. In France, in America, in England, the work was received with unbounded applause. The American

saw the institutions of his country analysed with masterly skill and made clearer, even to him, than they had ever before been. As the calm opinion of a foreigner, the thoughts of Tocqueville were received in America with the same pleasure as those of Montesquieu and Delolme had been received by the English, when they analysed, and held up to the admiration of the continent, the safeguards of the British Constitution. In the decentralization of municipalities they were taught to see the birth-place and the stronghold of liberty; to see "local liberties established beyond the range of the dangers which menace the great political liberty, in such wise that in the event of the fall of this, the others would not perish with it." In England the work became immediately and extensively popular. The evidence of an impartial witness as to the working of English institutions, modified to suit a republican form of government, could not fail to be of deep interest; and it was quickly seen that the work of the young author of twenty-nine was to take its place among the standard works of literature.

The publication of these volumes was shortly followed by the marriage of Tocqueville to Miss Mottley, an English lady; a marriage of pure disinterested affection, which secured, for the twenty-five remaining years of his life, a companion who appreciated his genius, rejoiced in his success, and shared his anxieties and his trials.

The preparation of the two concluding volumes of the *Democracy* occupied a period of five years; a fact which may be easily accounted for by the very splendour of his first success. To surpass, rather than fall short of, what had already been attained was a natural desire. And what was wanting in the freshness of a first untrammelled effort must be compensated by additional perfection in thought and style. M. Beaumont has observed, in another place, that so great was Tocqueville's diligence and so scrupulous his care, that to publish a single volume he wrote ten. It may be said here that to publish these two last volumes of his *Democracy* he read hundreds. To supply the deficiencies of his early study, the great moralists and historians of ancient and modern days were greedily devoured, and he described himself to one of his friends as experiencing the same pleasure, in the perusal of these great masters of thought, as Marshal Soult felt in studying geography after he had become Minister of Foreign Affairs.

But other circumstances tended also to retard the completion of these volumes. In 1836 Tocqueville succeeded to the family chateau of Tocqueville in Normandy, and with it to the interests, both agricultural and political, of a country gentleman, in a part of France where these duties nearly resemble the functions discharged by the resident gentry of our own country. The calls

of the petty magistracy, and the interruptions of contested elections, mingled with the studies of the philosopher; and the publication of the latter portion of the *Democracy* in 1840 was preceded by Tocqueville's return to the Chamber of Deputies as representative of the arrondissement of Volognes in the department of La Manche.

With the publication of his third and fourth volumes Tocqueville's literary career closed for a period of fifteen years.

These fifteen years were passed in political life. M. Beaumont has marked with much discrimination the qualifications and disqualifications of his friend for this new sphere. In perusing it we are forcibly struck by the similarity of Tocqueville's position, in the Representative Chamber of France, with that of our own Sir James Macintosh in the House of Commons. The following extracts will show in what the resemblance consists:—

"Tocqueville did not, it must be admitted, on his first appearance in politics, take his place in the highest rank as he had done from the first in literature: and for this reason, that although endowed with the chief qualifications that go to form the statesman, he was wanting in some of the characteristics which make a great orator, and, under parliamentary government, it is impossible to be the one without being the other. He spoke with ease, with much elegance, but his voice was sometimes wanting in power, arising from physical weakness of condition. The strifes of the tribune require, on the part of the orator, as much vigour and *sang froid* as are required from the soldier and general combined, for in public assemblies the speaker is, at once, general and soldier, has both to fight and to direct. Such contests were beyond the strength of Tocqueville, who never engaged in them without his health being shaken. For him the effort was too great to be often attempted. The consequence was that he mounted the tribune too seldom to become master of it.

"Another cause prejudicial to Tocqueville as an orator was the habit which his mind had formed in writing. It is possible no doubt to cite some instances of great writers who afterwards became great orators, but it is not less true as a general rule, that to write a book is a bad preparation for speaking well in public and on the spur of the moment. Almost all the great merits of a book are defects in a speech. Tocqueville brought with him to the Chamber the habits and methods of a writer, in his eyes a speech was too much a work of art, instead of being only a means of action. For a thought to be worthy to be carried to the tribune, it must, in his opinion, be not only true, but there was another consideration, it must be new. He had an insurmountable repugnance to common-

"places—an admirable feeling for one who is writing a book, but the most destructive of all to an orator, speaking in large assemblies where the commonplace is the chief favourite.

"Tocqueville had, moreover, in his literary practice and even in the study which he made of the art of writing contracted another habit, always good for the author but often prejudicial to the orator; that of never saying a word more than was necessary to give expression to his thought and to make it intelligible to the mind of every person endowed with ordinary ability. The orator is governed by quite a different law, that of adapting the length of his discourse to the impression made on his audience, of following up those impressions step by step, of stopping the development of his thought the moment it appears to be understood, or of continuing it under a new form when he finds it has not been well taken in."

M. Beaumont further observes that during the greater portion of his parliamentary career, from 1839 to 1848, Tocqueville was placed in the position least suited to his peculiar qualifications. Admirably adapted to speak with dignified and winning authority in office, he had too little of the tribune or the agitator to qualify him for opposition. For government he was eminently qualified. "Tocqueville," says his biographer, "was eminently practical, to the great surprise if not to the great chagrin of those who will have it that the man who is pre-eminent in thought must be inferior in action. He possessed the two great qualities of the politician:—the first, that clear view which penetrates the future, discerns beforehand the way to be followed, and the rocks to be avoided, sees farther and ahead of others—a quality valuable not only to the member of Government, but to every leader of a party; the second, the knowledge of men. No one knew better than he, how to attach them to him and to make use of them; to discern their qualifications and their defects; to profit by the one and the other; to require from all the service for which they were best adapted and, when that service had been rendered, to have them pleased with him, and with themselves. Very open and very discreet, never underhand, never saying anything but what he wished to say, just so much as he wished, and when he wished, and saying it with a grace which gave a high value to his every word, Tocqueville was in short evidently one of those men eminent in mind, in talents, and in character, who under a representative government and in settled times are destined to take a leading part in the affairs of their country. But the whole of his parliamentary life was passed in unsettled times and in opposition."

Tocqueville's fame therefore as a member of the legislature, like that of the great and virtuous man to whom we have compared

him, rests on the part which he took in promoting measures for the benefit of humanity, especially in regard to prison discipline and slavery, and on some speeches which, though coldly received in debate, are read with pleasure and admiration in the closet.

One of his public services during this period requires now to be specially noted. In 1846 Tocqueville was nominated President of a Committee of the Chamber appointed to report upon the affairs of Africa, and on him devolved the duty of drawing up the report of the Commission. To make himself master of the subject he had twice visited Algeria, in 1841 and 1845, and it appears to have been at this time that his thoughts were directed to the kindred subject of the British power in India. The report, which is one of the most valuable of the author's productions, bears evident traces of this study, and proves with what liberality and candour the author would have reviewed our institutions had the work been completed which he proposed to write, and, as we have seen, had actually begun.

The Revolution, which Tocqueville saw ever in progress, overthrew the Government in 1848, and to his deep grief destroyed the last hope of the establishment of constitutional monarchy in France. But as long as liberty survived Tocqueville clung to it, and gave in his adhesion to the Republic as the only means of saving the country from anarchy. He even held for a short period in 1849 the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, under the Presidency of Cavaignac; and during his brief tenure of office was able to afford proof of the highest capacity for adjusting the affairs of nations, and for maintaining the dignity of his own country. In October of that year he quitted office, but still clung to his seat in the Chamber so long as any hope of a constitutional government remained. In December 1851 he hastened from the charms of climate and society at Sorrento to share the dangers of his colleagues, and was in his place in the Chamber when the *coup d'état* put an end to its existence and to his political life. He was arrested with 200 of his colleagues and confined in the Chateau de Vincennes from which he retired into private life.

Debarred from the active service of his country Tocqueville now sought a distraction from the grief which the state of public affairs inspired, in a return to the literary pursuits of his early years; and naturally selected a subject closely connected with the anxious thoughts which occupied his mind as to the future destinies of France; that subject was the history of the Empire; or rather he proposed not so much to write a history of the Empire, as "to point out and render intelligible the cause, the character, and the bearing of the great events which form the chief link in the chain of that period; the facts being little more than a solid and continuous foundation on which to rest the ideas

"which were floating in his mind, not only on that epoch, but on that which preceded and that which followed it, on the character of the period and of the extraordinary man who established it, and on the direction by him given to the movement of the French Revolution, to the fate of the nation, and to the destiny of Europe."

To this task Tocqueville applied himself with his accustomed diligence. To discover the causes of the Revolution in the previous social history of France, was the first portion of his task, and five years of labour produced a volume published in 1856 under the name of "*L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution*," a fragment which we believe will be considered the masterpiece of its author.

M. Beaumont has justly observed that "if it is true that a literary life is a bad preparation for politics, it is not less true that political life is an excellent preparation for the composition of a book, especially of a work in which the study of contemporary facts is blended with history and in which the experience of the statesman is as much required as the skill of the writer." The work was received with unbounded applause, nor could it fail to be a source of wonder as it was a crowning proof of the genius of the author, that on a subject apparently so exhausted so much could be written that was new, and at once admitted to be true.

Tocqueville was now at the summit of his fame. His literary celebrity and his frequent travels had brought him into connexion with most of the eminent men of Europe, and especially of our own country. His spotless character and engaging manners had won the regard of all; and in 1857 when he was returning, after a short visit to England, to his chateau near Cherbourg, and the First Lord of the Admiralty placed a steamer of the Royal Navy at his disposal, the unusual honour was felt to have been fittingly and gracefully conferred; so high was the esteem in which the eminent foreigner was held.

The following two years were passed by Tocqueville at the ancestral chateau from which his name was taken, one of those ancient buildings which survive in France to mark by their dilapidation how completely the state of society under which they were constructed has passed away. We do not know whether others have been as much struck as we have been by one effect which the law of equal inheritance of landed property has produced in France, we mean the entire absence of what in England is called "country life," the absence of any resident gentry among the agricultural population. Tocqueville has himself assigned as one of the most potent causes of the ferocity evinced by the peasantry of France during the Revolution, which was especially directed against the owners of the land, that

centralization which had gradually deprived the landed gentry of all local authority and therefore of all power and with it of all responsibility for local improvement. To the peasant therefore the landlord was known only as the collector of the rents of the land, and of those feudal imposts more galling still which landlords continued to levy, when the feudal protection in which they had originated had passed away. If this effect of a despotic government tended to empty the chateaux of the ancient nobles, and to draw their owners to the capital and the court, the law of equal inheritance has effectually prevented any modern country houses from springing up in their place. It is obvious that if one of the moneyed class should purchase land and build a house proportional to its extent, in the next generation the house would be disproportioned to the means of any single member of the family, and in two or three generations would probably stand deserted on one of those plots into which the soil of France is divided. It is most probably for this reason that after traversing France three times from one end to the other we could not remember to have seen a single country house in the course of construction. Suburban villas were springing up in abundance round all the towns, but all the country houses, properly so called, showed signs of dilapidation and decay. We remember too to have observed in driving from the Channel to the Pyrenees, before the days of railroads, hardly to have met a gentleman's carriage beyond the limits of the towns. The land-holder of France now resides in the town, and, where the metayer system prevails, only when the tenant has reaped his crop and placed it in heaps in the field, issues forth to select his half of the heaps.

The family of Tocqueville appear to have clung with fond tenacity to the ancestral home and local interests; and although Alexis was youngest of three brothers an arrangement dictated by family affection had, on the death of their mother, rendered him the possessor of the chateau and manor of Tocqueville. The chateau is described as "situated on the coast of Normandy, in a beautiful and fertile country, commanding a view of the sea and of the fort of Cherbourg, but much dilapidated—full of recollections and ruins." No words can describe so well as Tocqueville's own the life which he led in this seclusion.

In a letter to his nephew, Baron Hubert de Tocqueville, he writes: "My mornings are devoted to study and my days are passed in the fields superintending the workmen. We have at present in handsome large works which we are pressing on as fast as we can, to render our exterior much what we should be. When this is done we shall undertake some small works only; for we are not of the class of those idlers who can only bear the country on condition of having a multitude of work-people and have no

"sooner thoroughly established themselves than they weary of it. "I think you will find Tocqueville much changed for the better when you return there, and this I hope may be in the present year. For the first time in the twenty years that I have lived in this country I have endeavoured in some degree to arrange all the old papers which are crammed here into what is called the 'Chartrier' (Charterhouse). A complete examination of these would have taken more time than I had at my disposal, but the little that I have seen of these family documents has interested me greatly. I have come across the line of our fathers for nearly four hundred years, finding them always at Tocqueville, and their history mingled with that of all the population around me. There is a peculiar charm thus to tread the soil where our ancestors have dwelt, and to live amidst a people all of whose antecedents are mingled with our own. I await your coming to complete these studies which have interest only for ourselves, but for ourselves have a very great interest. I have had the curiosity too to glance over the old records of the baptisms and marriages of the parish; they exist in part up to the sixteenth century. I observed, while reading them, that for three hundred years we acted as godfathers to a large number of the inhabitants of the village; a new proof of those mild and fraternal connexions which in those times still existed between the upper and lower classes, connexions exchanged in so many places for feelings of jealousy, of defiance, and often of hatred."

We have said above that Tocqueville's method of composition was slow and laborious, but this was rather the consequence of the nature of his subject, and of the conscientious care with which it was worked out, than to any want of rapidity of thought or easy flow of diction. This is evinced by the extent of his familiar correspondence in which he loved to pour out the feelings of a warm and genial nature, and to communicate his thoughts on the passing events of the day. His correspondents both in France and England were numerous and included many of the illustrious names of both countries. While, therefore, in his country seclusion he diligently continued his labours on his great work, the current events were carefully watched and excited as lively an interest in the chateau of Normandy as in the busy world of literature and politics. The two years at which we have now arrived added largely to the materials for a second volume of his work, but only a few chapters to the work itself; but they added largely to the volumes of the correspondence.

But Tocqueville was now to be torn from both the home and the pursuits which he so much loved. Always of a frail constitution, his physical frame had several times nearly succumbed under the demands which his ardent mind had made upon it. But up

to the present time no symptoms of consumption had ever shown themselves. In June 1858, however, a spitting of blood gave alarming proof of active disease. A retreat from the bleak air of Normandy was urged upon him by his medical advisers, and supported by the entreaties of his devoted wife. Too long he lingered; and finally only removed to Cannes in November after passing three months in preparing a supply of books, manuscripts, and notes for the continuance of his work.

The soft air of the south, its sunny sky and bright vegetation inspired the sanguine mind of Tocqueville with hopes and anticipations which to the friends around him were only too plainly illusory. The delay had proved disastrous, and disease was doing its work on the frail body, while the mind seemed more vigorous and bright than ever. His work was continued with unremitting zeal, his interest in passing events was as intense as ever, and his correspondence with his numerous friends as full and free as before. But the end was at hand. "At the same time," writes M. Beaumont, "that his intellect retained all its activity, his spirit seemed to acquire a deeper calm. His disposition became daily more gentle and more tender, his character more perfect (*plus uni*), his thoughts more religious and more resigned." On the 16th April 1859, in the full possession of his intellectual powers, a believing and trusting Christian, at the age of fifty-four years, Alexis de Tocqueville passed away.

Such is a brief sketch of M. Beaumont's memoir, written, it appears to us, with admirable taste though with all the warmth of admiring affection. The publication of two volumes of additional letters and fragments has completed, in nine volumes, all the writings of Tocqueville that are destined to see the light till the present generation shall have passed away. We have endeavoured in the passages selected from the memoir to convey a just idea of the character of this great man. And we propose in a future article to collect from his writings those passages which bear upon the government of our Indian Empire. If they induce any of our readers, who have not already done so, to acquaint themselves with this writer, we shall have pointed out to them an admirable example for imitation in active life, and an invaluable model of literary style.

We have, in the above pages, compared the subject of this memoir to two great men of our own country; and we shall close it by saying, that if we were asked to point out three biographies, which we should most strongly recommend to the attention of those preparing for an Indian official career, we should name those of Sir James Macintosh, Francis Horner, and Alexis de Tocqueville.

ART. 11.—THE TÁJ.

A Translation from the Persian.

IN the name of the bountiful and merciful God.

A very brief epitome regarding Banu Begam (usually addressed as Mumtáz-i-Mahall, *i.e.*, the chosen of the Seraglio) and well-known as Táj-Bibi (*i.e.*, Crown Lady) the wife of the conqueror Sháh Jahán, (*i.e.*, King of the World) and the daughter of Nawáb Asaf Khán, Minister of State, also the grandchild of Nawáb Itimád-ud-Daulah. Also the names of the artisans and description of the various stones used—also the monthly salaries of the individuals employed in erecting the magnificent Mausoleum (*i.e.*, the Táj) at Agra.

It is related that the King Sháh Jahán (the conqueror) had four sons and four daughters. The first son was named Dara Shukoh (or the King of Dignity), the second Sháh Shujá (or the valiant King), the third Muhammad Morar Baksh, the fourth Aurangzib Alamgir (or the Adorner and Conqueror of the World). Sháh Jahán's daughters were as follows:—The first was named Anjuman-arie Begam (*i.e.*, the Queen Adorner of assemblies), the second Geetee-arie Begam (*i.e.*, the Queen Adorner of the World), the third Jahán-arie Begam (*i.e.*, the Adorner of the world Queen), the fourth Dahr-arie Begam (*i.e.*, the Adorner of the world Queen).

It is recorded that just previous to the birth of Dahr-arie, this infant cried when yet in her mother's womb. Immediately on hearing the infant cry Mumtáz-i-Mahall, the mother, entirely despaired of life and at once summoned Sháh Jahán to her side and weeping bitterly, said :

"The time for us to be parted and say farewell is to-day.

"Pain and separation are, to-day, coupled with our destiny.

"Oh, these eyes have seen a lovely friend but a short time.

"Weep tears of blood, for *to-day* is the day of our separation.

"It is a fact, well known, that when an infant cries in the "womb, the mother never survives. As it is my destiny, now "immediately to travel from this transitory world to the immortal "Country, pray, oh King, pardon all my short-comings or faults. "My departure is close at hand."

When Sháh Jahán, the King and conqueror, heard these melancholy words relative to her departure and so full of sadness, he was so overcome from his excessive love and affection that he cried aloud in the anguish of his heart, and huge

tears like rain-drops flowed from his eyes. Alas! how can the narrator explain the degree of his Majesty's grief? It simply baffles all description. Alas! alas! is all that can be said.

The excellent and beloved Banu Begam after weeping excessively again said, "Oh King, during the period of my soul's captivity "on this earth I have long been the partner of your sorrows, and "now that God Almighty has destined you to be a King, and has "bestowed upon you the sovereignty of the world, I leave this "world with all the more regret. For this reason I have two "wishes which I trust you will approve of and carry out."

The King of the World then questioned the Queen as regards those wishes. The Queen said, "God Almighty has given you "four sons and four daughters by me. These are amply sufficient to "establish *our* race or lineage. God forbid that you should have any "other children by any of the other queens of the Seraglio, only to "cause strife and enmity with our children. My second wish is "that you should build over me such a rare, chaste, and lovely "mausoleum as shall be considered unique." With all his heart the King promised to fulfil her wishes. When Dahr-arie Begam was born she brought her mother's heart away in her closed hand, and the mother instantly died and joined the assemblies of the beauties of Paradise.

Verses.

No one, in this world, is immortal.

No one can snatch his life out of death's grasp.

Deceitful fate never performs her seeming promises.

She ever *withdraws* them at an *opportunity*.

How beautifully has that sapient man (*i.e.*, Sâdây) (who amassed a mine of wealth consisting of Wisdom's Pearls) expressed himself:—

"The world, oh brother, never remains with any of us.

"It is sufficient therefore to place your reliance *only* on *its*
Creator (*i.e.*, of the world.)

Up to a period of about (six) months after the death of the Queen the body was deposited, by the Chank, in an unoccupied piece of ground, *i.e.*, not in the present Mausoleum; and plans on paper were brought and presented for inspection by artists of repute. When one was finally approved of, a model was first prepared in wood; and afterwards this chaste Mausoleum was built of rare and precious stones, and the entire edifice was adorned and completed in seventeen years.

Verses.

When Muntâz-i-Mahall left this world, the Virgins of Paradise opened the gate to admit her instantly.

On account of the date of her death the angels said, "Paradise be over the abode of Mumtāz-i-Mahall.*"

The following is from the writings of Shahāb-ud-dīn Muḥammad II., i.e., the invincible Shāh Jahān :—

Verses.

Holy and admirable tomb, containing the "Bilkris"† of the world, which has been made the cradle of *the* Lady of the Universe.

A brilliant abode resembling the Garden of Paradise.

The walls and the doors adorned with gems, and the fresh breezes, pure as jewels of the first water.

In this pure spot and magnificent mansion, the "clouds of mercy" exude their moisture.

Prayers are here answered, it is in fact the very spot where worship meets with a favourable reception.

All the attendants (angels) are renowned throughout the world for their hospitality.

The "roses of pardon" bloom throughout the gardens, the perfume of which intoxicates the brains of the pure.

The rose-buds smile but only under a veil.

The only clouds that drop their moisture are 'Clouds of Mercy.' If a sinner enters that sanctuary as an asylum he obtains pardon.

The rose-buds smile with ardent desire to be expanded, and the gentle zephyr, their assistant, does not even stir the tender grass.

Should a sinner enter this mansion, he will be cleansed from his sins.

&c.

&c.

&c.

Note by Translator.—I have here omitted a number of still more overdrawn similes, which are considered to be tedious to general readers.

* *N.B.*—According to the value of the Persian words, she died in the year 1040 of the Hijrah era.

† The beloved of Solomon, a very virtuous woman.

A description of the stones used in the preparation of the mosaic work and in the erection of the magnificent Mausoleum.

NAMES OF STONES.	FROM WHENCE RECEIVED.	QUANTITY.
		Maunds.
Cornelian	Baghdad	910
Ditto	Arabia Felix (Yemen)	240
Turquoise	Grand Thibet	440
Lapis Lazuli	Ceylon	280
Coral	The ocean	110
Agate & Onyx	South of India	540
Porcelain	Canara	Beyond calculation.
Lahsunia	Nile	915
A false stone like the Ruby	Ganges	245
Gold-stone	From the mountains	970
Pie-Zahur	Kumáun	1,010
Gwalior stone	Gwalior	Beyond calculation.
The "Rare-stone"	Sírat	5,010
Black-stone	Jeheri	845
Opal	Ditto	45
Alabaster	Makráná	Beyond calculation.
Red or Blood-stone	Various places	45
Agato	Khamach	45
Sung-Nakhud	225

The weight of the Stones by measurement per cubic yard.

Marble	Per cubic yard	Maunds.
Porcelain	"	40
Black-stone	"	79
Jasper and Agate	"	48
Red-stone	"	95
Pie-Zahur	"	30
Flint	"	45
"Wonderful stone"	"	57
Crystal	"	42
Sung-"Khutoo"	"	85
Lapis Lazuli	"	85
Solomon's stone	"	312
Freckled stone	"	24
Bálni	"	42
Rose-coloured stone	"	25
		45

Ruby 54 Ms, Emerald 97 Ms, Greenstone 125 Ms, Sapphire 145 Ms, Porphyry 174 Ms, Turquoise 857 Ms, Gwalior stone 945 Ms, Refulgent stone 75 Ms, Loadstone 77 Ms, A false stone like Ruby 175 Ms, Pétonceá 49 Ms, Cashmere Marble—.

A list of the artisans employed in building the magnificent Mausoleum :—

1. A Christian, inhabitant of Rome, a rare plan-drawer and artist, on Rs. 1,000 a month.
2. Amanat Khán, inhabitant of Sheráz, writer of royal titles, on Rs. 1,000 a month.
3. Muhammad Jannaf Khán, Superintendent and Director of Masonry on Rs. 500 per month.
4. A Christian artisan, who went by the name of Muhammad Sharíf, on Rs. 500 per month.
5. Ismael Khán, "dome preparer," on Rs. 500 a month.
6. Muhammad Khán (inhabitant of Baghdad), an "elegant writer," on Rs. 900 a month.
7. Mohan Lall, "mosaic worker," Rs. 500.
8. Mauláwar Lall, inhabitant of Láhor, on Rs. 500 a month.
9. Mohan Lall of Láhor, on Rs. 980 a month.
10. Khatam Khán of Láhor, "dome preparer," on Rs. 200 per month.

The entire cost of the Táj is put down at (4) four *krors*, (11) eleven Lakhs,* and Rs. 48,826-7-6.

Translated from the Persian by

MORAR, GWALIOR.

R. P. ANDERSON, Colonel,

Commanding 34th Regt. N.I.

[NOTE.—The translator has left out a great deal he imagined would not interest people who do not understand Persian. Some of the similes in fact would require *endless* notes to explain the meanings, and such might possibly be tiresome to peruse! The object was merely to give a rough idea of the cost of the noble edifice the Táj at Agra, and to describe why it was built.]

* Making a grand total of forty twenty-six rupees, seven annas and millions, eleven hundred and forty- six pie.
eight thousand, eight hundred and

ART. III.—BERKELEY AND HAMILTON AS PRESENTATIONISTS.

IT is trusted that the suggestions offered in the following pages will not be without interest for some of our readers. We wish to bring before them the question whether Hamilton has so guarded his doctrine of perception, that a well-marked line can be drawn between it and the teaching of Berkeley. Paradoxical as the inquiry may appear it obtrudes itself upon us:—Must not Hamilton's real presentationism, that it may be harmonised with other of his doctrines, be construed as a scheme of objective idealism? Can it only be saved at the expense of his consistency of thought?

We shall not consider Reid's part in the Scottish crusade against idealism and scepticism. If he held the presentative doctrine, it found a more powerful champion in Hamilton. It may be preferred, with hesitation, to regard him as holding what is erroneously styled the finer form of the representative hypothesis. We say erroneously, because the unknown external reality is, on this hypothesis, not represented, but suggested, symbolised, necessitated as an object of belief.* It is thus that Reid is regarded by Brown, and J. S. Mill; and it will be enough to refer the reader to Mill's Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy, pp. 207-217. Stewart may be dismissed, as accepting but not amplifying, the expression of Reid, as observed by Hamilton.†

Berkeley and Hamilton are both presentationists. With both the object immediately known in perception, is the object that exists without. With representationists the immediate object is subjective, like the phantasms of imagination; but irresistibly suggests to belief an unknown external reality.

Berkeley teaches that the percept exists *only* relatively as perceived; to finite mind transiently and independently, to infinite mind permanently and dependently. The relation of existence is not that of subsistence and inherence, but of conscious subject and object known.‡ External objects are 'collections of ideas,'§ a plurality of 'sensations combined, blended, or (if one may so speak) concreted together;' || in the language of Jas. Mill 'a

* Mill's Examination, p. 191.

† Lectures, vol. 2, p. 91.

‡ Berkeley's Principles of Human Knowledge, § 49.

§ *Ibid*, § 2. The reader will remem-

ber that with Locke and Berkeley an 'idea' is that of which we are immediately conscious as presented in perception, or represented in imagination.
|| *Ibid*, § 99.

cluster of sensations concentered';* in that of J. S. Mill 'groups of sensations with a background of possibilities of sensation.† They are external 'in that they are not generated from within by the mind itself,‡ and 'when they exist in some other mind.‡ In such groups the tangible and muscular modes, distance, size, shape, situation, when not actualised in sensation, are signified as possible by colours faint or vivid, confused or obscure, by organic feelings of straining, and adjustment of the eyes, and other sensations, the language of nature.§ Extended and resistant percepts are real, as 'more strong, lively, and distinct, than those of the imagination,' || as having 'steadiness, order and coherence,' || being 'excited in a regular train or series,' || and as being not the creatures of my will.¶¶ Their *esse* is *percipi*,** as the *esse* of mind is *percipere*.†† "Some truths there are so near and obvious to the mind that a man need only open his eyes to perceive them. Such I take this important one to be, *viz.*, that all the choir of heaven and furniture of the earth, in a word all those bodies which compose the mighty frame of the world, have not any subsistence without a mind, that their being is to be perceived or known; that consequently so long as they are not actually perceived by me, or do not exist in my mind or that of any other created spirit, they must either have no existence at all, or else subsist in the mind of some Eternal Spirit—it being perfectly unintelligible, and involving all the absurdity of abstraction, to attribute to any single part of them an existence independent of a spirit."‡‡

Hamilton teaches that the percept exists *both* relatively as perceived, and absolutely, independently of perception. "We may lay it down as an undisputed truth that consciousness gives, as an ultimate fact, a primitive duality; a knowledge of the non-ego in relation and contrast to the ego. The ego and non-ego are, thus, given in an original synthesis, as conjoined in the unity of knowledge, and, in an original antithesis, as opposed in the contrariety of existence. Again consciousness not only gives us a duality, but it gives its elements in equal counterpoise and independence. The ego and non-ego,—mind and matter, are not only given to-

* Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind.

† Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy, chap. 11.

‡ Principles, § 90. "Berkeley acknowledges an (a) externality in our own possible experience, past and future, as determined by natural laws, which are independent of the will of the recipient; and (b) an externality to our own conscious experience, in the contemporaneous, as well as in the

past or future, experience of other minds, finite or Divine."—Professor Fraser's note.

§ Berkeley's Essay towards a New Theory of Vision.

|| Principles § 60.

¶ *Ibid.* 29.

** *Ibid.* § 3.

†† *Ibid.* § 98. Where see Professor Fraser's note.

‡‡ Berkeley's Principles, § 6.

gether, but in an absolute co-equality. The one does not precede, the other does not follow; and in their mutual relation, each is equally dependent, equally independent.*

Taking common sense, not with Hamilton as the absolute or common reason, but with Berkeley as the natural growth of unreflective opinion, we cannot allow to real presentationism any greater conformity to its dicta, than we can allow to objective idealism. The many, with Berkeley, regard the coloured object as equally real with the extended and resistant object. Hamilton's doctrine implies a difference in the mode of existence of the primary and secondary qualities of objects, the primary but not the secondary existing in the absence of a percipient; a difference repugnant to the deliverances of the ordinary or unreflective consciousness. With Berkeley the primary and secondary qualities are alike equally subjective and equally objective. "I am content," says Berkeley, "to appeal to the common sense of the world for the truth of my notion. Ask the gardener why he thinks yonder cherry-tree exists in the garden and he shall tell you, because he sees and feels it; in a word, because he perceives it by his senses. Ask him why he thinks an orange-tree not to be there, and he shall tell you because he does not perceive it. What he perceives by sense, that he terms a real being, and saith it is or exists; but that which is not perceivable, the same he saith hath no being."† We cannot allow that natural dualism is a deliverance of absolute or universal reason. That it is refused by the majority of analysts of the mind, is conclusive against it as such. To ancient Indian Speculation the conception of matter was unknown.‡ We demur against it also as a deliverance of unsophisticated belief. We question whether the many have any belief on the point, beyond an assurance of resistance to outward-passing activities. Put the question to them, and explain it, and they will doubtless reply; but in replying they already begin to philosophise. Such an appeal to common sense is an appeal from cultivated to uncultivated introspection.

The question arises: Can what, with Hamilton, is the absolute existence of objects unperceived, be other than what, with Berkeley, is their permanent and dependent existence in the infinite mind? We shall try to show that this question may fairly be asked, if we are to demand consistency between Hamilton's opinions.

* Hamilton's Lectures, vol. 1, p. 292.

† Dialogues of Hylas and Philonous, in Fraser's edition vol. 1, p. 329.

‡ The *prakriti* of the Sāṅkhya, which has been mistranslated matter, is a first principle manifested in three primordia or emanative causes

of the object world in a state of equipoise. These three primordia which have been mistranslated qualities, for they themselves are regarded as bases of qualities and actions, are potentially what their effects are actually, *viz.*, pleasure pain, and indifference.

The absolute existence of objects apart from perception, in the true sense of the words, is hardly consistent with Hamilton's statement that "immediate or intuitive knowledge is the knowledge of a thing as existing; consequently, in this case, knowledge and existence infer each other. On the one hand we know the object, because it exists, and, on the other, the object, the object exists, since it is known."* Can the real object known, exist at the same time as a real object unknown? This it must be if it have an existence absolute in the strict sense of the word. The object of perception must be at once a percept and something more than a percept. The object thus is partly presented, partly remains unrepresented to consciousness. This hardly consists with the statement that consciousness comprehends its object within its sphere.† Does Hamilton regard the object unperceived and absolute, absolute and unperceived to the infinite mind? He tells us: "All that there is now actually of existence in the universe, we conceive as having virtually existed, prior to its creation, in the Creator; and in imagining the universe to be annihilated by its author, we can only imagine this as the retraction of an outward energy into power."‡ Again, "The creation *à nihilo* means only that the universe when created, was not merely put into form; an original chaos, or complement of brute matter, having preceded a plastic energy of intelligence; but, that the universe was called into actuality from potential existence by the Divine fiat. The Divine fiat therefore was the proximate cause of the creation; and the Deity containing the cause, contained, potentially, the effect."§ Now, if this virtual or potential pre-existence was ideal, it must be ideal still, for Hamilton teaches that there is an absolute tautology between cause and effect: "Causes are only the co-efficients of the effect; an effect being nothing more than the sum or complement of all the partial causes, the concurrence of which constitutes its existence."|| If this virtual existence was not ideal, what was it? If it be said that the virtual existence here intended may be only a phenomenal existence; we reply that it will follow that the created universe is merely phenomenal, which Hamilton as a substantialist must deny. If the pre-existence of material things, and consequently according to Hamilton, their present existence, be ideal in the Divine mind; then Hamilton is at one with Berkeley, but this existence is miscalled absolute. It should be styled, as by Berkeley, independent of finite and dependent on infinite spirit. But if the objects thus pre-existent existed absolutely, then either matter is one with the Divine substance

* Lectures, vol. 2, p. 89.

† Lectures, vol. 2, p. 228.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 406.

§ Discussions, p. 615, note.

|| Lectures, vol. 1, p. 97.

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(material pantheism), or the contradiction will emerge of substance existing in substance, a contradiction fatal in the Hamiltonian philosophy. "Whatever violates," says Hamilton, "the laws, whether of identity, of contradiction, or of excluded middle, we feel to be absolutely impossible, not only in thought but in existence. Thus we cannot attribute even to omnipotence the power of making a thing different from itself, of making a thing at once to be and not to be, of making a thing neither to be nor not to be. These three laws thus determine to us the sphere of possibility and impossibility; and this not merely in thought but in reality, not only logically but metaphysically." * "The laws of identity, contradiction, and excluded middle are not only logical, but metaphysical principles."† Again: "If the true character of objective validity be universality, the laws of logic are really of that character, for these laws constrain us, by their own authority, to regard them as universal laws not only of human thought, but of universal reason."‡ Hamilton, therefore, could not justify the contradiction by the inconceivability of the unconditioned; and we are reminded of his words: "We may never, perhaps, arrive at truth, but we can always avoid self-contradiction."§ We have thus tried to show that a charge of unconscious idealism might with some plausibility be preferred against Sir W. Hamilton. Against the theological, objective idealism, of Berkeley, two principal objections may be cited. The percept in the finite is not numerically identical with that in the infinite mind. It is not then the transitory percept of the individual, that exists permanently in the universal soul.|| Again, as was inevitable at that stage of mental analysis, attention not having been called to the muscular sensibilities till the time of Brown, "Berkeley merged the object consciousness determined by our feelings of expended energy, in the subject consciousness, determined by passive feelings and ideas."¶ We may be allowed to close our suggestions, by recalling to our readers, what we believe to be the latest and the best exposition of perception, by Professor Bain. We find it most concisely expressed in the appendix to the first volume of his work on Logic.** "The deepest

* Lectures, vol. 3, p. 98.

† *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 105.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 65. In this ontological application of logical laws Hamilton is not followed by Mansel, who, after Kant, assures us that "contradiction is not in itself a quality of things, but a mode in which they are viewed by the mind." *Limits of Religious Thought*, p. 48.

§ Lectures, vol. 2, p. 65.

|| See J. S. Mill's *System*, vol. 2,

p. 392. It may be observed that a similar objection is brought by the Sankhyas against the phenomenalism (*vijnāna-vāda*) of certain Buddhist teachers. See Pandit Tārānātha Tarkavāchāspati's note to *Sankhyatattva-Kaumudi*, p. 59.

¶ Cf. Berkeley's *Dialogues of Hylas* and Philonous iii, p. 343, Bain's *Senses and the Intellect*, p. 381.

** P. 255.

of all relations is object and subject, commonly called mind and matter, the external world, and the internal world. When we pass from being engrossed with pleasure or pain to the consciousness of some extended thing, as a tree, we are affected with a marked shock of difference; we have made a transition the broadest and deepest that the mind can pass through. These typify the two ultimate or final modes of the human consciousness; they mutually constitute each other, on the principle of difference or relativity; they cannot, therefore, be resolved one into the other, or into any more fundamental experience. The contrast must be accepted as the chief division of all things, on the principle of dividing upon the maximum of difference. One portion of knowledge we term the object world, the extended world, and, less correctly, matter and the external world. The other portion we call the subject world, the unextended mind, and, less properly, the internal world. Indeed, when we talk of these two departments as dividing between them the universe of existence, we are using fictitious and unmeaning language; the ultimate universe, according to the law of relativity is a *couple*; the highest *real* grouping of things is this *two-fold* grouping, called object and subject, &c. These are the proper *summa genera*. Existence is a mere name. Object has been variously represented and analysed. Some have contended that it is an ultimate fact, given in our earliest consciousness. Others have resolved it into simpler states of the mind. The different views on this subject belong to the metaphysical and psychological question called the Theory of External Perception. We here assume that the notions expressed by object and subject can be analysed, and we give one mode of the analysis. Object means (1) what calls our muscular and bodily energies into play; (2) the uniform connection of definite feelings with definite energies, as opposed to feelings unconnected with energies; and (3) what affects all minds alike, as opposed to what varies in different minds. (1)—The greatest antithesis existing among the phenomena of our mental constitution is the antithesis between the active and the passive; the muscles (with the out-carrying nerves) being the bodily instrument for the one, the senses (with the in-bringing nerves) being the bodily instrument for the other. To this fundamental antithesis we are able to link the opposition of object and subject. Although developed by other circumstances, the contrast appears to be rooted in our greatest psychological contrast. (2)—The circumstance of our feelings being definitely changed with definite active exertions on our own part is a most notable accompaniment of our activity. When we move across a room, and feel our optical prospect definitely changing with every step, and are always going through the same definite changes with the same movements, we put this experience in contrast with

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feelings that fluctuate when we are perfectly still, and have no relation to our movements ; as the stages of an illness, the periodic sensations of hunger and fatigue, and the various passions and emotions. (3)—It is characteristic of the object world, that different persons are affected in the same way. Those definite changes of sense, accompanying definite movements, as in walking down a street, or in entering a room, arise in each person alike ; the other classes of feelings—hunger, fatigue, fear—run a different course in different persons."

ART. IV.—THE MODERN HINDU DRAMA.

ACCORDING to the *Sástras*, the Drama of the Hindús owes its invention to *Brahma*. It was breathed out by him like the *Vedas*, and communicated to Bharata and other ancient *Munis* who elaborated it into a system, and divided it into three parts. Of the three kinds, *Nátya*, *Nritya*, and *Nritta*, the first constitutes the drama proper ; being defined to be gesticulation with language, and like the Greek Tragedy, “ the imitation of a solemn and perfect action, of adequate importance, told in pleasing language, exhibiting the several elements of dramatic composition in its different parts, represented through the instrumentality of agents, not by narration, and purifying the affections of human nature by the influence of pity and terror.” The *Náttaka* represents the actions and the passions of divine, semi-divine and exalted human personages, such as Ráma, Krishna and Dushmanta. The *Náyikás* or heroines generally are the *Apsarás* of the court of *Indra*, doomed by imprecations to assume for a time earthly shape and form earthly connections, maids of royal and noble families, and *vasyá* or courtesans of the type of a class gifted with personal and mental charms and corresponding with the *Heteræ* of the Greeks. Ratnávalí, Debayáñí, Draupadí and Basantasená represented the different classes above-mentioned.

The Hindú Drama does not recognise the unity of place, owing to the absence of scenic decorations or dramatic surroundings ; but in point of fact the duration of an act is limited to that of representation. But the unity of action is fully observed.

The Drama is thus defined by Schlegel :—“ But of all diversions, the theatre is undoubtedly the most entertaining. We see important actions when we cannot act importantly ourselves. The highest object of human activity is man, and in the drama we see men, from motives of friendship or hostility, measure their powers with each other, influence each other as intellectual and moral beings by their thoughts, sentiments and passions, and decidedly determine their reciprocal relations. The art of the poet is to separate from the fable whatever does not essentially belong to it, whatever, in the daily necessities of real life, and the petty occupations to which they give rise, interrupts the progress of important actions, and to concentrate within a narrow space a number of events calculated to fill the minds of the hearers with attention and expectation. In this manner it affords us a renovated picture of life, a compendium of whatever is animated and interesting in human existence.”

The objects of dramatic representation are; according to Professor H. H. Wilson, thus described by Hindu critics:—They are to convey instructions through the means of amusement; and, with this view, they must affect the minds of the spectators with the sentiments which they express. These sentiments are termed by Hindus, *rasas*, tastes or flavours; and they imply both the quality as inherent in the composition and the perception of it as recognised by the reader or spectator. The *rasas*, however, are considered usually as effects, not causes; and they are said to come from the *bhāvas*, i.e., the conditions of the mind or body, which are followed by a corresponding expression in those who feel, or are supposed to feel, them, and a corresponding impression on those who behold them. When these conditions are of a permanent or durable description, and produce a lasting and general impression, which is not disturbed by the influence of collateral or contrary excitements, they are, in fact, the same with the impressions: as desire or love, as the main object of the action, is both the condition of the chief character, and the sentiment with which the spectator is filled. When the conditions are incidental and transitory, they contribute to the general impression, but are not confounded with it. They may, indeed, be contrary to it in their essence, without weakening or counteracting it; as a hero may, for public reasons, abandon his mistress without foregoing his love, and may perform acts of horror even in furtherance of his passions.

The *bhāvas* are, therefore, divided into *sthāyī*, or lasting, and *vyabhichārī*, transitory or incidental. There are also other divisions which we shall proceed to notice.

The *sthāyī* bhavas, or permanent conditions, are, according to some authorities, eight; according to others nine.

“1. *Rati* is desire for any object arising from seeing or hearing it, or having it present to the recollection.

2. *Hāsa* is laughter or mirth, distinct from the laughter of scorn.

3. *Soka* is sorrow at separation from a beloved object.

4. *Krodha* is the resentment of injurious treatment.

5. *Utsāha* is high-mindedness, or that feeling which prompts valour, munificence, or mercy.

6. *Bhaya* is the fear of reproach.

7. *Jugupsā* is aversion or disgust; the emotion which attends seeing, touching, or hearing of anything offensive.

8. *Vismaya* is the emotion produced by seeing, touching or hearing of anything surprising.

9. *Sunta* is not always included in this enumeration; it implies that state of mind which contemplates all human events as transitory and insignificant.

The passions generally portrayed are love and heroism, the social organisation of the ancient Hindús being eminently favourable to the development of both.

The Náataka makes no broad distinction between Tragedy and Comedy, but it is a commixture of both, blending "seriousness and sorrow" with levity and laughter. The tragic and the comic elements, according to Schlegel, bear the same relation to one another as earnestness and mirth; and every man is acquainted with both these modifications of mind from his own experience. Both bear the stamp of our common nature, but earnestness belongs more to the moral, and mirth to the sensual side.

The drama and the theatre produce each other. A dramatic work becomes most impressive when acted within the four walls of a theatre; and a theatre is a most powerful engine for the development of the drama. In ancient times there was no regular theatre erected for the purpose, but the *Sangítasála*, generally the *Uthán* or courtyard, served the purpose. The lower part was appropriated for the stage, in the upper part there were seated the King and the Ráni and other distinguished male and female personages. The play opened with a prelude, in which the manager introduced the author and the actors to the audience, and informed them of the leading events and past occurrences calculated to illustrate the acts. The first act afforded a clue to the subject of the whole story which was developed in the ensuing acts. The stage itself was called *rangabhúmi* or *nepathya*. The following description of it from the *Sangíta Ratnákara* is appropriate:—"The chamber in which dancing is to be exhibited should be spacious and elegant. It should be covered over by an awning supported by pillars, richly decorated and hung with garlands. The master of the house should take his seat in the centre on a throne; the inmates of the private apartments should be seated on his left, and persons of rank on his right. Behind both are to be seated the chief officers of the State or household, and poets, astrologers, physicians and men of learning are to be arranged in the centre. Female attendants, selected for their beauty and figure, are to be about the person of the principal, with fans and *chauris*, whilst persons carrying wands are to be stationed to keep order, and armed men, as guards, are to be placed in different directions. When all are seated, the band is to enter and perform certain airs; after which the chief dancer is to advance from behind the curtain, and after saluting the audience, scattering at the same time flowers amongst them, she will display her skill." Scenery as understood in the modern sense there was none, but thrones, weapons and carriages and *raths* with live cattle were used. We also believe that there were contrivances to represent the ingress and egress of carriages, as in the case of

Mrichhakatika and *Vikramorvasi*, and latterly of *Rukmīnī-haran*. One of the most noticeable features in connection with the ancient drama was not only the introduction in society of ladies of rank and title, but the representation of female characters by females ; these always appeared in appropriate costumes.

With the subjugation of the Hindús by the Muhammadans, and the decadence of their learning and philosophy, the drama declined and became all but extinct. The exclusion of females from society contributed to the declension of this most interesting and instructing recreation, and subsequently caused its paralysis. At last the diffusion of English education led to the study of Sanskrit literature ; and the monuments of dramatic genius were dug up and made accessible by means of Bengálí translations. The revival of the Hindú Drama dates from the year 1857. *Sakuntalá Náataka* was performed in February of that year, at the house of the late Bábu Asutosh Dev, at Simla.

We rejoice in the resuscitation of the drama as an auspicious omen of good things to come. It has under the name of *Náataka* flourished, as we have seen, from time immemorial. Its cultivation, and the perfection to which it was carried, affords the most conclusive evidence of a high state of civilisation. Indeed, the progress of the Drama in ancient India and the prevalence of rules regulating dramatic representation similar to those obtaining in Greece and other European countries, point to the existence of an earlier common prehistoric civilisation from which that of modern times has radiated as if from a centre.

The Modern Drama in Bengal is held not in the *sangítasálá* or open space, but in theatres neatly and beautifully erected at the lower end of the drawing-room, with scenic embellishments of considerable pretensions. The opening scene consists in the appearance not of the manager, but of *nat* and *natí*, who entertain the audience with dancing and introduce the actors ; stating in brief the chief incidents of the play and describing the parts to be acted by them.

The modern theatre is composite, combining the stage and scenic attractions of the European with the performance of the Indian classical dramas rendered into the vernacular language.

The modern theatre like the ancient has its *bidúshaka* or privileged buffoon, the companion of the king ; he generally unites great shrewdness and mother-wit, with love of creature-comforts. There is a serious drawback to the complete success of the modern drama ; female characters are performed by males, as from the constitution of society, women of reputation and virtue are not available.

As *Sakuntalá* in its Bengálí dress was the first play performed in the modern theatre, and as it is the master-piece of Kálidása

we shall make no apology for giving a sketch of the circumstances under which it was written, and a résumé of the plot.

The age of Kálidása opens a new era in the annals of the dramatic literature of the Hindús. He has been justly called the Shakspeare of India, and his marvellous knowledge of human nature in all its varied and profound phases is almost Shakspearian. His imagination was not only a realising faculty, it could grasp the past, the present, and the future. He was a profound artist. The activity and universality of his genius pervaded every subject he touched, and clothed it in a new and fascinating garb. It became in his hands instinct with new life and redolent of poetical feeling. Kálidása is unquestionably the first of Hindú poets and may be emphatically called the genius of ancient India. He was the most brilliant of the nine gems who adorned the court of Vikramáditya, the most puissant monarch of his age, who drove the Scythians and other barbarous races beyond the Indus, and whose dominion extended over the whole of Southern India. Of the early history and antecedents of Kálidása, little or nothing is known. According to tradition he was destitute of all school learning and also common sense, inasmuch that he is said on one occasion to have tried to cut down the branch of a tree on which he was seated, overlooking the consequences of the fall. He was afterwards inspired by Saraswati, the Minerva of the Hindús; and he wrote and composed under her inspiration the two dramas of Vikramorvasí and Sakuntalá, both most remarkable for elegance and delicacy of dramatic composition. They are most polished productions, and betoken an intensity of labour bestowed on their composition. They both exhibit a deep acquaintance with the mechanism of the human heart, and a vividness of description of external objects, especially scenery. They are full of interesting and stirring incidents which succeed each other naturally; and the characters think and speak just as they might do under the circumstances in real life.

The Hindú dramatists, as observed by a recent writer in the *Cornhill Magazine*, have the highest name among all the authors whose human personality is acknowledged by Hindú piety. The chief poets of the great literary age of India, like those of the similar period in France, were unquestionably dramatists. Judged either by the quantity or by the quality of their works, they shed a lustre on their era, which has not been eclipsed by subsequent poets.

The plot of the *Sakuntalá* is briefly told. Dushyanta appears in the court, and orders his *pradhán* (or minister) to make preparations for a hunting excursion. The Rájá sitting in his carriage pursues a stag, the stag disappears, upon which Dushy-

anta questions his coachman about the flight of the stag. On being informed of it, he hastens in another direction; and discovering the stag, wounds it with an arrow. The animal runs and takes shelter in the settlement of Vaikhānas Rishi, who remonstrates with Dushyanta about his wounding the stag. Dushyanta expresses his penitence, and receives the pardon and benediction of the Rishi. He then proceeds to the Asram of another Rishi named Kanwa, the foster-father of Sakuntalā. He there observes Sakuntalā engaged with her companions in watering the trees. He conceals himself behind a tree, and hears her praising the beauty of the *keshar* tree. Charmed with overhearing her discourse, Dushyanta tries to find out her descent. Sakuntalā is very much teased by a *bhramar* (fly) hovering about her face. The Rājā then comes forward, and asks the cause of the disturbed state of her mind. After a mutual exchange of polite attentions, they all take their seats beneath an umbrageous tree. Dushyanta informs her of his country and descent, whereupon they all retire to the Asram. The Rājā is suddenly smitten with the charms of the lovely Sakuntalā, who reciprocates his love, but is prevented by her innate modesty and delicacy from giving expression to her feelings. Her reserve is at last conquered by the perseverance of the Rājā, and they are married. Then the Rājā departs to his kingdom and forgets the marriage; his oblivioness being the effect of a curse pronounced on Sakuntalā by Durvāsā Muni. The interest of the play is concentrated in the fourth act, which describes the departure of Sakuntalā from the Asram of Kanwa and her meeting with her husband. It appears that some time after the Rājā's desertion of Sakuntalā, Kanwa discovered an auspicious omen which led him to infer that Dushyanta would soon recover his memory. On the eve of her departure, Sakuntalā thus laments her separation from her beloved trees and pet animals:—

SAKUNTALA.

My beloved jasmine, most brilliant of climbing plants, how sweet it is to see thee cling thus fondly to thy husband, the mango tree; yet, prithee, turn thy twining arms for a moment in this direction to embrace thy sister; she is going far away, and may never see thee again.

PRIYAMVADA.

You are not the only one, dearest, to feel the bitterness of parting. As the time of separation approaches, the whole grove seems to share your anguish.

In sorrow for thy loss the herd of deer

Forget to browse; the peacock on the lawn

Ceases its dance; the very trees around us

Shed their pale leaves, like tears, upon the ground.

KANWA.

Daughter, the cherished purpose of my heart
Has ever been to wed thee to a spouse
That should be worthy of thee ; such a spouse
Hast thou thyself, by thine own merits, won.
To him thou goest, and about his neck
Soon shalt thou cling confidingly, as now
Thy favourite jasmine twines its loving arms
Around the sturdy mango. Leave thou it
To its protector—e'en as I consign
Thee to thy lord, and henceforth from my mind
Banish all anxious thought on thy behalf.

Listen, then, my daughter. When thou reachest thy husband's
palace, and art admitted into his family,

Honour thy betters ; ever be respectful
To those above thee ; and should others share
Thy husband's love, ne'er yield thyself a prey
To jealousy ; but ever be a friend,—
A loving friend, to those who rival thee
In his affections. Should thy wedded lord
Treat thee with harshness, thou must never be
Harsh in return, but patient and submissive.
Be to thy menials courteous, and to all
Placed under thee, considerate and kind ;
Be never self-indulgent, but avoid
Excess in pleasure ; and when fortune smiles,
Be not puffed up. Thus to thy husband's house
Wilt thou a blessing prove, and not a curse.

On the arrival of Sakuntalá at the palace of her husband she is repudiated by him. Dushyanta forgets his marriage owing to the mysterious disappearance of the marriage-ring ; but on the subsequent recovery of it by a fisherman, he recovers his recollection, and experiences unspeakable agony in missing his wife. The drama concludes with the return of Sakuntalá and the happy reunion of the hero and heroine.

Of Sakuntalá and the Hindú Drama, Schlegel makes the following remarks :—"And to go to the other extreme, among the Indians, the people from whom perhaps all the cultivation of the human race has been derived, plays were known long before they could have experienced any foreign influence. It has lately been made known to Europe, that they have a rich dramatic literature, which ascends back for more than two thousand years. The only specimen of their plays (nataks) hitherto known to us, is the delightful Sakountallah which, notwithstanding the colouring of a foreign climate, bears in its general structure such a striking

resemblance to our romantic drama, that we might be inclined to suspect that we owe this resemblance to the predilection for Shakspeare entertained by Jones the English translator, if his fidelity were not confirmed by other learned Orientalists. In the golden times of India, the representation of this natak served to delight the splendid imperial court of Delhi; but it would appear that, from the misery of numberless oppressions, the dramatic art in that country is now entirely at an end."

Monier Williams, author of the second translation of *Sakuntalá*, says, "The English reader remembering that the author of the *Sakuntalá* lived in the century preceding the Christian era, will at least be inclined to wonder at the analogies which it offers to our own dramatic composition of fifteen or sixteen centuries later. The dexterity with which the plot is arranged and conducted, the ingenuity with which the incidents are connected, the skill with which the characters are delineated and contrasted with each other, the boldness and felicity of the diction, would scarcely be unworthy of the great dramatists of modern times."

Goethe has thus summed up the merits of *Sakuntalá* :—

"Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and the
fruits of its decline,

And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed?

Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole
name combine?

I name thee, O *Sakoontola*; and all at once is said."

The performance of *Sakuntalá* at Simla was, however, a failure. This is not to be wondered at; for *Sakuntalá*, being a master-piece of dramatic genius, requires versatile and consummate talent for its representation, rarely to be met with in this country.

Among those who have contributed to the revival of the drama, a conspicuous place must be assigned to *Rájá Jatindra Mohan Tagore*, the late *Rájá Pratáp Chandra Singh*, and the late *Bábu Kálíprasanna Singh*.

In the month of April 1857, *Vení Sanhára Náta* was performed at the house of the late *Bábu Kálíprasanna Singh* of *Jorasanko*. The *Vení Sanhára* is founded on a story of a *Saváparva* of the *Mahábhárata*: *Yudhishtira*, the eldest of the *Pándava* brothers, having staked and lost his all in gambling, his wife *Draupadí* was dragged by the braid of her hair by *Duhsásana*, brother of *Durjodhana*, and disgraced in the open *Shava* or assembly. The revenge wreaked by the *Pándavas* upon the *Kauravas* forms the subject-matter of the play. *Bhíma* the second brother of *Yudhishtira* thus exclaims :—

"Shall I not grind the *Kauravas* to dust,
Nor drink the blood of arrogant *Duhsásana*
Shall not my mace upon the breast descend

Of proud Duryodhana, and crush the wretch,
Because your monarch seeks the price of peace. ?
Draupadī advises Bhīma to be forbearing. —
Yet ere you go attend to my request
Let not my shame so far inflame your wrath,
That heedless of your lives, you headlong plunge
Into the conflict ; the chieftains of the enemy
Are neither rash nor timorous."

The resentment of Bhīma, the selfishness of Durjodhana, the meanness of Duhśāsana, the prowess of Arjuna, the pride of Karna, and the forbearance of Draupadī are graphically described. The play is distinguished by individuality of character, but very deficient in felicity of illustration and fertility of imagination. The concluding scene introduces Bhīma as the destroyer of Durjodhana : Draupadī thus revenged, her braid of hair is again bound up. It was well acted and the principal characters were admirably sustained.

In November 1857, a second and more brilliant performance, that of *Vikramorvasī*, took place at the premises and under the management of the late Bābū Kālīprasanna Singh ; the Bābū himself was one of the *dramatis personæ*. There was a large gathering of native and European gentlemen, who were unanimous in praising the performance. Among the latter, Mr., afterwards Sir, Cecil Beadon, the then Secretary to the Government of India expressed to us his unfeigned pleasure at the admirable way in which the principal characters sustained their parts. *Vikramorvasī*, another production of Kālidāsa, narrates the story of the love of Rājā Pururavā the demigod, and a nymph Urvasī. She was formerly a denizen of Swarga or the celestial regions, but having offended Mitra and Varuṇas, was condemned by them to become the consort of a mortal. Oblivious of her high place in heaven, and of the vocations entrusted to her, she introduced herself to the Rājā and immediately inspired him with fervent love. They were married, and they dwelt together in the forest of Chitraratha, near Alakā the capital of Kuvera, for 61 years, in undiminished conjugal felicity. Urvasī being missed in the court of Indra, was carried away there by the Devatas, Apsarasas and Gāndharvas, on the termination of the period of imprecation. The ostensible cause of her translation to heaven was the violation by her husband of two conditions, which she had exacted from him. The first condition was that the Rājā should personally take charge of her two patrons and prevent their being forcibly or fraudulently carried away. The other condition was that she was never to behold the Rājā divested of his dress. The Gandharvas having entered the sleeping chamber of the Rājā carried off the rani ; the Rājā leaped naked out of bed and in the excitement of the moment pursued the ravishers, but he had no sooner left the bed than Urvasī disappeared.

Urvasi is thus described by Professor Wilson. 'She was delicately and symmetrically formed, was graceful in her gestures, and fascinating in her manners; her voice was music, her countenance was dressed in smiles, and her beauty was such as might enchant the world; no wonder, therefore, that Pururavá was at once inspired with fervent love.' No wonder, also, that, when Pururavá first beheld Urvasí he exclaimed, "Well might the nymphs, who tempted Náráyana in his devotions, stand silent with shame, when they beheld her as she sprang forth to light; or rather, I would hold that she was no daughter of the ascetic at all. Say, was it the moon, the giver of brightness, who called her into being, or Káma himself, his whole soul immersed in love, or was it the month that is richest with flowers? How, indeed, could an aged Muni, cold with continued study of the Vedas, and sense-isolated from all objects of desire, create a form so fair or heart-bewitching as hers?"

After the celebration of the marriage of Pururavá with Urvasí, the elder Rání thus expresses herself as reconciled to it, thereby making a virtue of necessity:—

"Resplendent pair who over the night preside,
Lord of the deer-borne banneret, and thou
His favourite, Rohini—bear and attest
The sacred promise that I make my husband.
Whatever nymph attract my lord's regard
And share with him the mutual bonds of love,
I henceforth treat with kindness and complacency."

The following description of the palace, at evening, is graphic. "Sweet, indeed, over the palace falls the close of day, the peacocks sit lost in sleep, as if night herself had scattered them on their poles; the doves, as they fly to their turret-tops, are lost in the fumes of incense which escape from the windows; and the venerable old men of the seraglio are distributing the evening lamps on the altars decked with offerings of flowers."

Pururava's grief for the separation from Urvasí is vividly described. It is different from that of King Lear, but it is not less deep, intense, and heartrending. Roaming from forest to forest in quest of his beloved, he thus questions the denizens thereof, "I beseech thee, Oh lord of the peacocks! tell me if, as thou roamest through the woods, thou hast seen my own fair bride? Oh, hear me! Her face is like the moon, and her gait is as the stately flamingos; thou wilt know the signs of her, for I have told them unto thee. Oh! bright-eyed peacock with the dark blue throat! hast thou not seen the desire of my heart, whom I seek in this forest—my loved wife with the long fair eye, the worthiest object in the world? Ha! he gives me no answer, but begins to dance." The Vikramorvasí bears the impress of the

same master-mind as the *Sakuntalá*. The former has justly been called the twin-sister of the latter. A writer in the *Westminster Review* makes the following apposite and telling remarks :—

“ Kalidasa’s genius burns brightly in both these dramas. In each we trace the same love of Nature in all her forms, whether in the grandeur of the mountain or the sweet pastoral quiet of the valley ; everywhere we see the poet’s sympathy with scenery and its manifold influences on his mind. His soul flowed on through the world like a clear, still river, and its mirror took the reflection of every scene through which it passed. Few poets have felt deeper than he the depth of sympathy which lies between the human soul and the outer world which surrounds it. The hills and the woods are not stolid spectators, indifferent to our joy or our pain, but they vary their aspects to the changed aspects of the soul, and the scene which is joyous to the happy wears a gloom and sadness to the eyes of human sorrow.”

About the time of which we have been speaking, when the *Vikramorvasí* was for the first time performed before a modern Bengálí audience, Rájá Pratáp Chandra Singh, a man of enormous wealth and high position in society, having estates in seventeen districts, came forward as the patron of the Hindú Drama. His accomplished brother Iswar Chandra Singh heartily joined him in this laudable undertaking. He erected a spacious theatre in his villa at Belgachiyá and the corps of *dramatis personæ* was trained by Bábu Kesav Chandra Ganguli, who is a born actor. The first play performed in the Belgachiyá theatre in August 1858, was *Ratnávalí*, translated by Pandit Rámnáráyana. It was accompanied by a band newly organized by Khsetramohan Gossain. There was a distinguished audience present on the occasion, including Sir Frederick Halliday, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Judges and the Magistrates of Calcutta, and other high officials as well as non-officials. The performance was a great success.

Belgachiyá Villa, where it took place, is the villa formerly owned by Dwarkanáth Tagore, and was the *rendezvous* of almost all persons of distinction, rank and talent ; the only private garden where Europeans of different classes and native gentlemen met and mixed freely and cordially. During the time of Rájá Pratáp Chandra Singh the garden was laid out as tastefully and beautifully as it had been during that of his predecessor. The *gnati jhil* meandering through the entire length of the grounds and sparkling with the *Nilumbium Speciosum*, the favourite *padma* of the Hindús, the lawn spread in all directions and aglow with parterres of roses and xinnias, the glittering marble fountain surmounted by a Cupid and spouting forth water, the summer

house floating as it were on an island and connected with the garden proper by an iron suspension-bridge; these were great attractions. The *toute ensemble* was like a fairy scene, and added considerably to the charm and *éclat* of the dramatic entertainment.

Ratnávalí or the Necklace marks a new era in the national manners and customs of the Hindus. It is founded on the loves of Vatsa, prince of Kausámbí, and Vásavadattá, princess of Ujjayiní, which are alluded to in the *Megha Dúta*, and are narrated in the *Vrihat Kathá* of Soma Deva. The last is described by Professor H. H. Wilson as a writer of the same period as the drama, but he does not pretend to have invented the story; and the manner in which the tale is adverted to in the *Megha Duta*, the date of which work is unknown, but which no doubt is anterior to the *Vrihat Kathá*, seems to indicate a celebrity of some antiquity. The incidents are essentially of a domestic character, and the *dramatis personæ* are moulded in a human not in a divine or semi-divine form, as in preceding dramas. It is evidently the production of a later age, and of a different condition of Hindú society. It is said to owe its paternity to Srí Harsha Deva, a Rájá of Kashmír and a patron of learning. The principal characters are:—

Vatsa.—The king of Kausámbí.

Yojandharáyana.—His chief minister.

Vasantaka.—The king's confidential companion.

Basubhúti.—The ambassador of the king of Sinhala.

Bábhavya.—An envoy from Vatsa to the king of Sinhala.

Vásavadattá.—The queen of Vatsa.

Ratnávalí.—The princess of Sinhala.

Ratnávalí the favourite child and only daughter of Sinhala, or Ceylon (Lanká), is consigned a bride by her father to Vatsa, and is sent to join her bridegroom in a vessel. The vessel is wrecked and she is discovered floating in the water by a merchant of Kausámbí. Her costly necklace indicating a regal rank, this waif of the sea is rescued from a watery grave, treated with profound respect by the merchant, and consigned to the *rájbarí* of Kausámbí, but *Vásavadattá* discovers her rare beauty, and being afraid of her provoking the passion of the king, conceals her in a solitary apartment of the zenana. But the Rájá descries Ratnávalí in a garden where she had accompanied her friend Susangatá. He exclaims "A most surprising damsel; truly, such another is not to be found in this world. I am confident that when she was created, Brahmá was astonished at his own performance."

The course of the Rájá's true love, after encountering many formidable difficulties, is crowned with success. The necklace of Ratnávalí betrays her paternity to *Vikramabáhu*, the king of Sinhala, and her sisterhood to the Rání *Vasavadatta*, who, owing

to this relationship, is reconciled to the marriage with her husband. She decorates her with her own jewels, takes her by the hand and presents her to the *rājā*, saying "Accept Ratnāvalī, my lord." The *Rājā* taking Ratnāvalī's hand replies "Who would not prize the favour of the Queen?" The parts of the king and Ratnāvalī were performed by young men who acquitted themselves most creditably in their situations, which were eminently dramatic. But the gem of the actors was *Vasantika*, who was represented by Bābu Kesav Chandra Gāngulī. His ready wit, his brilliant *bon mots* and inimitable comic humour, may fairly entitle him to the praise of being the best actor in Bengal. He kept up the interest of the play most successfully, and was the life and soul of the performance.

The concluding scene introduces a magician, who exercises his art in open *darbār*, presided over by Udayana and his queen Vāsavadattā. Basubhūti, the ambassador of the king of Sinhala, is then announced and summoned to the presence. The magician is dismissed, but he lights up the palace with an illusory fire. The ambassador tells the tale of Ratuāvalī, *alias* Sāgarikā, from the time of her betrothment to Udayana to her shipwreck. In the meantime, the report of the fire is brought to Udayana and he rushes to her rescue. "The light shows me Sāgarikā; 'tis she, alone, without assistance."

- *Sug (aside).*—The prince! The sight of him inspires me with the hope of life. (*aloud*) Preserve me, Sire!

Udayana.—Fear not; support one moment these investing vapours. Ha! the scarf on your bosom is on fire (*snatches it off*); your fetters impede your path, let me support you. Dearest, cling to me (*takes her in his arms*), already is the heat allayed; be of good cheer, the fire cannot harm thee, love, whose very touch abates its intensity. (*Pauses—looks round—closes his eyes, and re-opens them.*) Why, what is this! Where are the flames! They have disappeared and there stands the palace unharmed! Ha! the daughter of Avanti's monarch!

Udayana (to Vāsavadattā laughing).—Well, madam, it remains with you to say how we shall dispose of the sister you have acknowledged.

Vāsava.—My lord, you might as well speak out, and say 'I'll take Ratnāvalī over to me'!

Vas.—Your majesty very accurately conceives the minister's design.

Vāsava.—Come here, Ratnāvalī, appear as becomes my sister. (*Puts on her her own jewels; then takes her by the hand and presents her to Udayana*) Accept Ratnāvalī, my lord.

Udayana (taking her hand).—Who would not prize the favour of the queen?

Vāsava.—And remember, my lord, she is far away from her natural relations; so treat her therefore that she may never have occasion to regret them."

Uday.—I shall obey.

Both *Sakuntalā* and *Ratnāvalī* show that females were not excluded from society in ancient India. *Sakuntalā* appears in the open *darbār* of *Dushyanta* and pleads her own cause. In the *Ratnāvalī*, *Basubhuti*, the ambassador of the king of *Sinhala*, and the envoy from *Udayana*, are summoned to the public court of *Udayana* and enter into an unreserved communication with *Vāsavadattā* and *Sāgarikā*. We have even earlier proof afforded in the Vaidik period of the liberty enjoyed by the Hindu females. The *Rig Veda*, the earliest record of Hindú thought, makes mention of ladies riding in chariots. They joined in public worship and took part at bridal processions. They are still permitted to perform their ablutions in the *Bhágíráthí* and other sacred rivers. There is, therefore, no doubt, that the seclusion of women originated during the Muhammadan times and in Muhammadan customs. It is also manifest that the creation and multiplication of accomplished courtesans is ascribable to the rigid exclusion of the virtuous and respectable portion of the sex in the *zenana*, and also to their defective education. The *Hetææ* of the Greeks, and the *Vaisya* of the Hindus were the creatures of an imperfect system of civilisation prevailing among both nations.

In 1859, *Sarmishthā Nátaka* was performed at the *Belgáchiya* theatre. The principal characters of the play are as follows:—

Yayāti the chief of the *Daityas*, *Mádhava* the chief of the companions, *Sukrácháryya* the spiritual guide of the *Daitya* race, *Vakásura*, a *Daitya*, *Debyání* the daughter of *Sukrácháryya*, and *Sarmishthā*, the daughter of *Vrishaparva*, king of the *Daityas*.

Debyaní was the wedded wife of *Yayāti*, but the latter, smitten with the charms of *Sarmishthā*, falls in love with her and thereby incurs the jealousy of his wife, who ill-treats her favoured rival. In order to avenge herself, *Sarmishthā* leads *Debyaní* to the side of a well and throws her in. *Debyaní* sends word of her misfortune to her father. The indignation of *Sukrácháryya* knows no bounds.

He hastens to the *rájbárá* of *Yayāti*, and pronounces his curse, that the *rájá* should for ever labour under physical disability. Smarting under this terrible imprecation, *Yayāti* beseeches the *Guru* to relent; and *Debyaní* having joined in the entreaty, he said that it was possible for him not to remove the imprecation, but so to modify it as to pronounce (which he there and then did), that if any of the *Rájá's* sons would accept the sufferings involved in the curse, his highness would be free from it. *Yayāti's* youngest son, *Purn*, consented to be the vicarious victim, and the infirmities of *Yayāti* were transferred to him, *Sukrácháryya's* anger being

pacified, Sarmishthá was married to Yayáti and the play virtually concludes with the happy union. After a sufficient time Yayáti resumed his decrepitude, and delegated his kingdom to Puru in recognition of his filial love. Puru became the founder of the Pauravas, comprising the Kaurava and the Pándava families.

In 1859 the *Nátaka Málavikágnimitra* or *Agnimitra* and *Málaviká*, was performed in the theatre erected by Rájá Jatindra Mohan Tagore Báhádur, at his house in Páthuriágháttá. It is not a very spacious, but a very beautifully got-up theatre, the scenes are singularly well painted, especially the drop-scene, which is ablaze with aloes and water-lilies, and is entirely oriental. The *Málavikágnimitra* is supposed to owe its paternity to Kálidása, the author of *Sakuntalá* and *Vikramorvasi*. But it bears internal evidence of a later age and of a different condition of society from what had prevailed in the days of *Vikramáditya*. Besides, it wants the fire of his genius, the wealth of his imagination, and the music of his versification. *Agnimitra* is the king of *Vidisá*, and a scion of the house of *Chandra Gupta*, the *Sandracottus* of the Greeks. The other conspicuous characters are *Gotama*, the confidential companion and the privileged buffoon of *Agnimitra*, *Dháriní* the principal queen, *Iravatí* the junior queen, and *Málaviká* the heroine.

The *Nátaka* opens with the appearance of *Vakulávalí*, a female attendant upon the queen at the *Sangita Sálá* or saloon of music, to enquire of the progress made by *Málaviká*, in dancing and singing. In the meantime the king having discovered the portrait of *Málaviká* painted by order of the queen for the *Chitra-sálá* or picture gallery, is enraptured with her beauty as imaged in canvas and longs to look at and possess the original. His wish is soon gratified. At a concert held at the palace for the trial of some musical professors, *Málaviká* is introduced; and she sings an *upagána* or prelude, and then executes *Chaturshpada Vatsu* in the *Madhya Laya* or *andante* time, which was composed by *Sarmishthá*.

The business of the plot thickens, and much of the interest is concentrated in the fifth and penultimate act. The rájá *Agnimitra*, his senior ráni *Dháriní* and *Málaviká* are seated in the *Asoka tree* (*Asoka-Jonesia*) when some presents arrived from the rájá of *Vidarbha*. Amongst the gifts are two *banúts* or female-slaves, who immediately recognise in *Málaviká* the sister of *Mádhavasena*, the friend of *Agnimitra*, whom the armies of the latter have just liberated from the thralldom to which the *Vidarbha* sovereign had consigned him. It appears that *Málaviká* on her way through the *Vindhya* mountains was attacked by dacoits, but effected her escape. She then resumed her route towards *Vidisá*, where she was fated to pass through a period of servitude and then meet with a suitable

helpmate. The concluding act describes the celebration of an *Aswamedha*, by the rájá in commemoration of his victory over Vidarbha and the consequent accession of territory.

The *Aswamedha* consisted in letting loose an *aswa* or horse (with a gold-plate with the name of the performer inscribed thereon) for one entire year into foreign territories, where the owner and his army followed him ready to do battle with such chiefs as might carry away the animal and refuse on demand to tender their submission by restoring him. If the rival monarch should get the better in battle, he was entitled to retain the horse and put a stop to the *Aswamedha*. But if he should be worsted, he was compelled to restore the horse, and assist as a feudatory in the celebration of the *Aswamedha* rite. The performer of the *Aswamedha* thus succeeded in reducing to submission every chief who dared to carry away his horse, and was considered to have achieved a great feat and earned imperishable renown. The ceremony was brought to a termination by the sacrifice of the horse to the Devatás in the presence of the conquered chiefs and the people, and by a grand banquet at which the roasted flesh of the horse was the *pièce de resistance*.

The next play that was performed at the Páthuriágháttá theatre was *Bidyásundara*. It is the most popular play in Bengal. It is acted in every part of this province, especially during the *Durgápújá* and other festivals. It is an episode of the *Anuadá Mangal*, the great work of Bhárat Chandra Ráy, who composed it under the auspices of Mahárájá Krishna Chandra Ráy of Nadiyá. As generally acted it resembles an operatic performance, but it was dramatised by the Rájá Jatindra Mohan. He has revised it and eliminated all indecent allusions from it. The heroine Bidyá, a daughter of the house of Bardwán, being what is now called a blue-stocking, was determined to give her hand and heart to him who should win her in a literary controversy. Sundara, a prince of Kánchipur near Vijayanagrám, having heard of her determination, came up to Bardwán and contrived to have a private interview with Bidyá through the instrumentality of a *málini* or flower-girl. He discussed with his lady-love a variety of literary subjects, and extorted from her much admiration of his intellectual superiority. The result was that Bidyá and Sundara were married in private, and used to meet very night. A subterranean path excavated between the house of the *málini* and the apartments of Bidyá in the *rájbará*, served as his passage. The remains of this *surauya* are still supposed to exist, and are pointed out as lying in the vicinity of the old *rájbará*. In due process of time Bidyá became pregnant. Her interesting condition having attracted the notice of her mother she reported the fact to her husband raja Bírasiuha Ráy, who

immediately instituted inquiries; Sundara being discovered to be the author of the intrigue, was arrested and sentenced to be capitally punished. He was rescued at the eleventh hour, and his distinguished antecedents being revealed, he was pardoned and married in due form to Bidyá. The drama is full of striking and interesting incidents; but, as originally composed by Bhárat Chandra, it was characterised neither by chastity of diction nor by purity of thought, although it exhibited a richness of fancy and fertility of imagination unsurpassed in any other Bengálí drama.

This performance took place in December 1865; and was supplemented by that of an amusing farce *Jemunukarma Temni Phala*.

Another farce entitled *Bujhla Ki Ná* was performed at the Páthuriágháttá theatre in December 1866. It was admirably acted, and elicited roars of laughter from the audience.

About this time the taste for dramatic performance began to spread. Several wealthy and middle-class men improvised theatres and got up plays. In 1866 *Sítár Banabása*, or the Exile of Sítá, a Bengálí play composed by Bábu Unes Chandra Mitra, was performed at the house of Bábu Nilamaní Mitra of Bhawánipur.

It is founded on an incident of the Rámáyana, namely, the expatriation of Sítá by her husband Ráma owing to his unreasonable suspicion of her chastity. Sítá lived during her exile in a forest as an unprotected female; a fact which affords conclusive evidence of the liberty enjoyed by Hindú women in early times. The play was accompanied by a performance of orchestral music led by Bábu Kesav Chandra Mitra, who is an accomplished instrumentalist.

In 1867 *Nava Nátaka*, or the new drama composed by Pándit Rámnaráyan, was performed at the house of Dwárákánáth Tagore. The plot is poor and destitute of interesting incidents. It depicts the evils of polygamy, and describes the miserable lot of the husband who has the misfortune to own two wives. Gabesa Bábu is the husband, and the misery of his domestic life was vividly realized. In truth, the acting was infinitely better than the writing of the play. Not only Gabesa Bábu but almost all the other actors acquitted themselves most creditably. The late Bábu Ganendranáth Tagore and his brother Bábu Gunendranáth Tagore, the grandsons of Dwárákánáth Tagore, got up this performance in their residence at Jorasankó, and the principal characters were personated by members of their family. It is a thousand pities that the untimely demise of Bábu Ganendranáth Tagore proved a death-blow to the Jorasanko theatre.

In July 1867 *Sakuntalá* was performed for the second time

in Calcutta. It took place at a house at Kánsáripára, but with no better success than at Simla.

The same year witnessed the performance of an original Bengali play, entitled *Padmavati*, composed by the late lamented Michael Madhusúdan Datta. It took place at the house of the late Bábu Jaya Chánd Mittra, at Garáhnáttá, and met with indifferent success.

Another original Bengali performance, entitled *Bidhabá Bibáha*, or the marriage of the Hindu widow, took place at the house of the late Bábu Gopál Lál Mallik, afterwards occupied by the Metropolitan College, and now razed to the ground. The subject of the drama has a social significance which cannot be misunderstood. It is an unmistakeable indication of the current of the opinion of educated Hindus in favour of widow marriage.

Sarmishthá was performed for the second time in Bengal at the Rájbarí in Kuch-Bihár, a few months ago, under the auspices of Col. J. C. Haughton, the Commissioner of the division.

Returning to the Páthuriyágháttá theatre, we find that *Málatí Mádhava*, translated by Pandit Rámnáráyan, was performed there in 1869.

Málatí Mádhava is a fine specimen of Hindu dramatic literature. Although *Sringára Rasa*, or love, constitutes the predominating element of the play, yet in respect to fastidious delicacy, it may be advantageously compared, as observed by Professor Horace Hayman Wilson, with many of the dramas of modern Europe treating of the same passion. The *Sringára Rasa* is described with the truest touches of tenderness and pathos. The *Málatí Mádhava* resembles in many respects *Romeo and Juliet*. The fervour of passion, the restraint and reserve with which it is avowed, and the purity of sentiment underlying it, constitute a most pleasing and interesting picture of Hindu national life. The play is full of incidents, showing that the course of true love never runs smooth; but the *denouement* results as usual in the marriage of the lovers. The author of *Málatí Mádhava*, Bhavabhúti, is a more impassioned writer than Kálidása. His are words that breathe and thoughts that burn.

The play thus concludes with the address of Kámandatí, priestess of Budha and nurse of Málatí, to Mádhava, and the reply of the latter.

“ Kám.—

My son, what more remains?
The happiness that was your earliest hope,
By my devotion and the skilful pains
Of my disciples, is at last ensured you.

The king and Nandana approve the suit
Of your dear friend, and hence no fear prevents
His union with his love. If yet there be
A wish ungratified, declare it—speak.

Mád. (*Bowing*)—

My happiness henceforth is perfect : all
The wish I cherish more is this, and may
Your favor, holy dame, grant it fruition.
Still may he virtuous be exempt from error,
And fast to virtue cling ; may monarchs, merciful
And firm in equity, protect the earth ;
May in due season from the labouring clouds
The fertile showers descend ; and may the people,
Blest in their friends, their kindred, and their children,
Unknowing want, live cheerful and content."

The performance of *Málattí Mádhuva* was accompanied by a concert, of Hindu music. The present notation of Hindu music was for the first time introduced. Closely connected as it is with our subject, the following description of Hindu instrumental music will, we believe, interest the reader.

CATALOGUE OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

I.—Stringed Instruments.

- No. 1. Víná.
2. Setára.
3. Tritantrí víná.
4. Kinnarí víná.
5. Rudra víná or Raráb.
6. Surada.
7. Sur sríngára.
8. Sur báhá.
9. Bipanchi víná.
10. Tamburá.
11. Ektára.
12. Svara Víná.
13. Sáringi
14. Taush.
15. Esrá.
16. A'lápa sáringi.
17. Sura Sá.
18. Sáringá.

II.—Pulsatile Instruments.

- No. 19. Dholoka.
- " 20. Dhol.
- " 21. Dháka (generally played on the occasion of the Charak Pújá).

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| No. 22. | Nágará, jil. | } These five, together with four other instruments, are played in concert, and they form the <i>Nao</i> , the grand instrumental music of Hindustán. |
| " 23. | Do., bom. | |
| " 24. | Dámámá. | |
| " 25. | Kháradak, jil. | |
| " 26. | Do., bom. | |
| " 27. | Jay dhol. | } Played together with Kánsi. |
| " 28. | Jaga jhampa. | |
| " 29. | Kará. | |
| " 30. | Nágára. | |
| " 31. | Tásá. | |
| " 32. | Mádal (played by the Sántáls). | |
| " 33. | Hárák (played by up-country Káhárs or palkibearers). | |
| " 34. | Khol. | |
| " 35. | Dumburu (played by snake-charmers, &c.) | |
| " 36. | Dhap. | |
| " 36½. | Dára. | |
| " 37. | Jháji-khanjá. | |
| " 38. | Khanjá. | } Played by the Bairágis of Bengal. |
| " 39. | A'nanda lahari. | |
| " 40. | Gopí-Yautra. | |
| " 41. | Mridanga. | |
| " 42. | Báyá. | } Played in concert with sáringi when dancing girls sing with setára, &c. They are also played when light songs are sung. |
| " 43. | Tablá. | |
| " 44. | Jora-ghái. | |

III.—*Percussion Instruments.*

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| No. 45. | Mandirá (played with Dholoka). | |
| " 46. | Kartál (played with Khol). | |
| " 47. | Rám kartál (played with Hárák). | |
| " 48. | Kánsi (played with Dhol and Dháka). | |
| " 49. | Kánsara. | } Played on occasions of worship. |
| " 50. | Ghantá. | |
| " 51. | Ghari. | |
| " 52. | Kattál. | |
| " 52½. | Núpur (tied round the feet in dancing to beat time.) | |

IV.—*Wind Instruments.*

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| No. 53. | Sánái, Rasonchouki. | } Played together in concert with Nágára. |
| " 54. | " Totá. | |
| " 55. | " Bengal. | |
| " 56. | " Jorá. | |
| " 57. | Algozá. | |
| " 58. | Mohana hánsi. | |
| " 59. | Laya hánsi. | |
| " 60. | Kalam. | |
| " 61. | Sankha (played on occasions of worship, particularly during the worship of Lakshmi). | |

No. 61½. Tubrí (played by snake-charmers).

„ 62. Singá (blown with Khol).

63. Mochanga.

No. 1. *Víná*.—The *Víná* is the most ancient instrument of India, and its power of emitting sound is remarkable. Allusion is made in the *Yajurveda* to a *Víná* said to have been invented by the sage *Yájñavalkya*, which had one hundred wires. It is now not in use. The invention of the *Víná* at present used is attributed to the sage *Náráda*. It has a gourd attached to each of the artificial columns, called *Danda*, made of bamboo, or the body of the instrument. Sanskrit writers on music have attempted to establish a fanciful resemblance between the human body and the *Víná*, one of the gourds of which is considered to be the abdomen and the other to be the skull. This instrument is also called *Mahatt* or *Vrihatti Víná*. It has seven wires, three steel and four brass. Wire No. 2, which is of brass, is tuned to the pitch of C. Steel wire No. 1 is tuned to the fourth or F. It is called *náyakí*, or the principal wire. Wire No. 3 of brass is tuned as fifth or lower G. The brass wires Nos. 4 and 5 are tuned as *sur* or C of the same octave. Of wires No. 6 and 7, both of which are of steel, the former is tuned as *sur* or C of the octave higher than the second brass wire, and the latter as *sur* of the octave next higher than the sixth wire. Wires No. 2 to 7 are used as accompaniments to the principal one (*náyakí*), though No. 2 is occasionally used for the purpose of producing notes of a lower octave.

Upon the bamboo-roller and key-boards metallic frets of steel are stuck on wax. The arrangement of the fret is like that of the English chromatic scale, which is called in Hindustani *achul that*.

The *Víná* is held over the left shoulder, and the first and second fingers of the left hand work upon the frets. It is played by the first finger of the right hand. At the time of playing the performer covers the tops of those fingers with plectrums, and the fourth finger of the right hand is used to strike wire No. 5 as an accompaniment to the tune. The third finger is scarcely used at the time of playing.

No. 2. *Setára*.—Another description of *Víná*, called *Kachchhapa*, prevails in all parts of this country. People now call it "*Khachhúa Setára*." The common name of *Setára* has been given to *Kachchhapa*, *Tritantri* and other *Víná*s by Amír Khusrau, the celebrated poet of the court of the Pathán king Ghíás-ud-din Balban, who reigned in the 13th century of the Christian era. Though the term *Setára* (*se* means three and *tára* wire) seems to correspond more with our *Tritantri Víná*, *Tritantri* much resembles the *Kachchhapa* in shape; but the hollow of the latter is formed of a gourd, whereas that of the former is generally made of wood. There is also a difference in the number of wires. The number of wires in the *Kachchhapa* is between five and seven. It is called *Kachchhapa*

owing probably to its hollow shape, being flat like the shell of *Kachchhapa* (tortoise). It is described in the Hindu *Sāstras* as the instrument used by *Sarasvatī*, the Goddess of Learning. The *Kachchhapa* contains seven wires, of which four are of steel and three of brass.

Wire No. 1, which is of steel, is called the *Nāyaktī* or the principal wire, and is frequently used. It is tuned as F.

Wires Nos. 2 and 3, which are made of brass, are tuned in unison as *sharjā* or C.

Wire No. 4, made of steel, is tuned as fifth or G of the same octave.

Wire No. 5, made of brass, is tuned as C of an octave lower.

Wires Nos. 6 and 7, both of which are of steel, are respectively tuned as *sharjā* (C) of the octave next higher than the second wire and as G of the octave next.

These two small wires are attached to the side of the *Setāra*, and are termed *chikarī*. All the wires, save Nos. 1 and 2, are only used as accompaniments. Seventeen frets made of steel are placed upon the key-board, and are tied to it by gut strings. Two and a half octaves can be compassed in this instrument. At the time of playing, the back of the *Setāra* is to be placed in the front of the player, the side of the gourd to be held tight by the wrist of the right hand, and the roller to be loosely supported by the left hand. The first finger and the second finger of the left hand run over the frets, while the first finger of the right hand, tipped with the plectrum, is used on the wire upon the space next to the frets above the neck of the instrument as with the guitar. The sound of the *Setāra* is very much like that of the *Nārada Vīnā*. Passages which with much difficulty are performed on the *Nārada Vīnā*, can, with slight exertion and with the greatest facility, be nicely performed by means of the *Kachchhapa Vīnā*. There is a good deal of similarity between the *Setāra* and the guitar of modern Europe. The author of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" traces the origin of the latter to the former. Dr. Adolf Marcus, the author of the "School of Universal Music," says that guitar is the *Setāra* in a different shape, and is called *Jetur** by the Germans. Among old European and other races it was known by the Persian name of *Setāra*, the very word introduced into India in modern times by A'mir Khusrāu.

The author of the article in the *Britannica* goes on to say:—
"In days of old, when there was frequent commercial intercourse between the people of India and Persia, the latter introduced the *Kachchhapa Setāra* into their own country, and designated it

[* An instrument not unlike the *Setāra*, having metallic strings, and known in Germany under the name of the *Zitter*.—EDITOR.]
played somewhat in the same way, is

Setāra. But long before the famous A'nir Khusrau had adopted this name, it went here by the name of *Kachchhapa*. By being a little more changed in shape, than when it had been first brought into Persia, it obtained the name of Guitar in Arabia, *Asore* in Asia Minor, *Khitara* in Old Greece, *Himore* in Jerusalem, *Hisar* in Nubia, and different other names in other countries. That guitar gets its name from Arabia is admitted by Dr. Barni in his history of music. By a reference to Mr. Bees's Encyclopædia, it will be seen that in the 9th century of the Christian era, when the Arabians conquered Spain, they introduced the guitar there. In course of time it spread over all Europe, and is now known by a variety of names in different countries of that quarter of the globe, according to the changes it has undergone in shape. The *Kachchhapa* of India seems to be the original model after which similar instruments in Europe have been made."

No. 3. *Tritantri Vīṇā*.—The *Tritantri Vīṇā* is almost similar in shape to the *Kachchhapa*. But it has three wires attached to it, and instead of a gohrd it has a hollow wooden block. The second or middle brass wire is tuned as C; the first steel wire is tuned as fourth or F. The third wire, which is of brass, is generally tuned as G of the lower octave. This instrument is played in the same way as the *Kachchhapa*, though being smaller and of less capability it is not quite adapted for the performance of the difficult pieces of *Rāgas*.

No. 5. *Rudra Vīṇā* or *Rarāb*.—Previous to the conquest of India by the Muhammadans, this instrument was called in Sanskrit *Rudra Vīṇā*. The Muhammadans subsequently gave it the name of *Rarāb*, though something like it existed in Persia.

The *Rarāb* is carved out of a solid piece of wood. The hollow part at its bottom used to be covered with the skin of the iguana. Over this part is placed an ivory bridge called *swari* (a supporter for strings).

There are six pegs on the roller, to each of which a gut string is attached, reaching the bottom perpendicularly. The metallic wires are seldom used in this instrument, and the six gut strings are tuned in the following manner :—The second is tuned as D, the first as fifth or higher G, the third as C of the same octave, the fourth as A of the lower octave, the fifth as E of the same octave, and the sixth as C of the same octave.

The *Rarāb* has no frets arranged on it. At the time of playing the body of the instrument rests on the left shoulder of the player, while its bottom is placed on the ground. A thick scale of fish is tied to the tip of the first finger of the left hand with a piece of thread. With the flat surface of this piece of scale the strings are lightly pressed, while with a plectrum made of sandal-wood or a piece of ivory, and held between the first finger and thumb

of the right hand, the strings are struck. All the strings are used for producing different notes.

Captain Willard says that the *Raráb* resembles the Spanish guitar in shape and tone. How far he is correct we cannot say. But when compared with the old European instruments, whose drawings we have seen, namely, mandolin, &c. (*vide* "Encyclopædia Britannica"), it seems to bear a great similarity. Hence it appears that the Spanish guitar and the old European mandolin are imitations of *Rudra Víná* or the *Raráb* as it is now called.

No. 6. *Surada Víná* or *Surada*.—The *Surada Víná* is also an instrument carved out of an entire piece of wood. The hollow part used to be covered with the skin of the iguana, but latterly it is covered with any other thin skin. There are no frets arranged on this instrument. Six gut strings are attached to the six pegs. Sometimes six wires made of steel or brass are placed in their stead according to the option of the players. But this practice is not general. Seven or eleven strings made of brass pass in another row through the bridge below the cat-guts, and are attached to the pegs on the side of the instrument. These are called *járásí* and are tuned in the diatonic scale, but they are simply acted upon by the vibration caused by striking the six principal gut strings. At the time of playing it is placed, like the *Setára* in the front, slightly supported by the left hand of the player; and is sounded like the *Raráb* by a plectrum called *jowá* in Persian, made of a piece of ivory, wood or bamboo, and held between the thumb and the first finger of the right hand, while the gut strings upon the wooden finger-board, over which there are no frets, are pressed with the fingers of the left hand. All the fingers of the left hand (but not the thumb) are generally used at the time of playing. There is some peculiarity in playing the gut strings in this instrument. On the score of the proximity of gut strings Nos. 1 and 2, and of Nos. 3 and 4, each of these two couples is tuned in unison, and is simultaneously pressed by the fingers. But gut strings Nos. 5 and 6 are placed and played separately. Although there are six gut strings they are tuned to four tones only, for Nos. 1 and 2, and 3 and 4 present only two tones. In fact four gut strings are of practical use, and gut string No. 6 serves as an accompaniment. This instrument is not, like the *Setára* and others, so popular in Bengal as in the North-Western Provinces. During the Muhammadan period of Indian history, it was one of the instruments used in processions. When the Muhammadan emperors came out of their palaces for recreation or for other purposes, they were preceded by elephants or camels upon whose backs the *Surada* players sat and played. But in modern times it has been included under the head of drawing-room instruments. Sometimes it is played in accompaniment to the

voice. It is in use in Afghanistan, Arabia, and other Asiatic countries; but the Arabian *Suruda* is a little smaller in size than and differs a little in shape from the Indian one. This instrument in a different shape is used in Egypt by the name of *Gobbeh*.

No. 8. *Sur Bâhr*.—The *Sur Bâhr* differs from the *Kachchhapa Vîná* only in shape. Its hollow is sometimes made of wood and is larger than that of the *Kachchhapa*. Like the *Kachchhapa* the *Sur Bâhr* has seven pegs stuck to it, on which are fixed as many metallic strings. In addition to these a piece of wood is attached to a side of its wooden bar or finger-board, to which are stuck a number of small pegs, generally seven or eleven, on which as many side strings are fastened. As there is a piece of wood or ivory on the sounding-board on which the seven strings rest, so there is a similar wooden or ivory piece of small dimensions for these side strings. This instrument is held and played upon like the *Kachchhapa*. Its tuning and the mode in which the frets are arranged on its bar or finger-board are imitations of the *Kachchhapa*. The side strings are played according to the will of the player. In this instrument the seven principal strings only are played as in the *Kachchhapa*, while the side strings serve the purpose of merely echoing the principal ones. The *Sur Bâhr* is larger than the *Kachchhapa*; consequently its sound is more sonorous and melodious.

Should any skilful artist take particular care in constructing the the *Kachchhapa* on a larger scale, its sound will not be found to be inferior to that of the *Sur Bâhr* in any respect. The *Sur Bâhr*, which is of a very recent date, is an imitation of the *Kachchhapa*.

No. 9. *Bipanchi Vîná*.—The *Bipanchi Vîná* resembles *Kinnarî Vîná* in many respects. It differs from *Kinnarî* in this respect, that its hollow instead of being made of egg shell, oyster or any metal, is made of a certain kind of gourd of small size called in Bengali *Til Lâu*. As regards magnitude, number of strings, tuning, arrangements of the frets, the mode in which it is held and played, and its melody, it exactly resembles the *Kinnarî*. In ancient times, it was customary to attach seven strings to the *Bipanchi*, but now-a-days only five are given to it.

No. 10. *Tamburâ*.—The *Tamburâ* derives its name from its inventor *Tamburâ Gandharva*. Its hollow is made of gourd to which is attached a wooden bar. The sounding board is also of wood. This instrument is used as an accompaniment to song or other musical instruments, to fill up the pauses and add harmony to the music. It has four wires, of which the first and the second are of steel, and the others are of brass.

The *Tamburâ* can be very easily played upon. It is used with particular interest by the people of Persia, where it consists of six wires and twenty-five frets. An instrument similar to it was in

use among the Greeks, the Jews, the Turks, and the Armenians. It is still in use among the inhabitants of the countries which lie on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The instrument known among the husbandmen of Italy, by the name of Colascione, appears to be somewhat like the *Tamburá*.

No. 11. *Ektára*.—This instrument is made of two-thirds of a gourd covered with skin. A bamboo staff having a peg on its top is attached to the gourd. It has a single steel wire which is tuned by every player according to his natural voice.

No. 13. *Sáringi*.—This instrument has been in use in India from time immemorial. Its hollow is made of wood and is covered with a thin skin. Its finger board is of wood. There are two pegs on each of the sides above the roller. Four gut-strings are attached to these four pegs. There are a certain number of extra pegs on the side of the roller to which are attached an equal number of brass wires. The number of pegs depends upon the option of the maker of the instrument. The two lower of the four gut-strings are tuned to *Kháraj* or C, and the others to a perfect fourth.

At the time of playing, the *Sáringi* is placed in front of the player in a erect posture, and made to lean against his breast. It is played by means of a bow, held by the right hand, while the nails of the fingers of the left hand (not the thumb) press the sides of the gut-strings.

Sáringi is used in drawing-rooms, in dances, and as an accompaniment to the female voice. It assists the fair sex in singing. Its sweet sound accords so well with the female voice, that no Indian songstress can be induced to sing without the accompaniment of this instrument. The *Sáringi* is used all over India.

No. 14. *Mayurí* or *Taush*.—From the hollow to the roller *Mayurí* is framed entirely of wood. Its hollow is covered with a thin skin; and has the neck of a *Mayurí* (peacock) attached to it. Hence its name *Mayurí* in Sanskrit and *Taush* in Persian. There are 16 frets in this instrument as in the *Kachchhapa* and other *Vínás*. Loosely holding the back of the roller with the left hand, it is played with a bow by the right hand. At the time of playing, the forefinger and the middle finger of the left hand are frequently used. Four wires are attached to the four pegs above the roller; of these, two are of steel and two of brass. Wire No. 1 (i.e., *Náyaki* wire) is only used for playing. The other three wires are used as accompaniments. The number of extra brass wires attached to this instrument depends upon the option of the player, and these are only used to give a variety of sound. Full two octaves can be compassed by means of this instrument. It serves to add to the sweetness of the feminine voice, and is used as an accompaniment to the songs of females. It is tuned like the *Setára*.

No. 17. *Sura Sá*.—This instrument is entirely made of wood.

Almost all those musical pieces which are performed on the *Sarār*, can be performed on this instrument.

For much valuable assistance in preparing the above account of Hindú musical instruments, we are indebted to the country of Rájá Jotindra Mohan Tagore.

On the 10th February 1872 a new dramatic performance, *Rukminiharan*, took place at the house of Rájá Jotindra Mohan Tagore. The play is founded upon an episode of the *Mahábhárata*; and describes the love of Rukminí for Krishna; and their subsequent elopement.

The father of Rukminí growing old and physically unable to take an active part in the performance of his regal duties, delegated the cares of his kingdom to his son Rukmángada. He, however, fully retained the use of mental faculties and his affection for his daughter, Rukminí, was undiminished by age. While thus situated, he received a visit from Nárada, the son of Brahmá. In the course of conversation, Nárada gave a glowing description of the godlike character and superhuman qualifications of Krishna. The description was listened to with breathless interest by Rukminí, who was present; and it inspired her with infinite love for Krishna. Her sentiments being understood and sympathised with by her father, he resolved to marry her to Krishna. With this view he proceeded to the sitting room of his son who was then engaged in playing at *Pásá* or dice. He communicated his intention to his son, who scouted with scorn the idea of the marriage of his sister with the son of a cowherd. His father repeatedly and eloquently dwelt on the transcendent merits of Krishna, but he would not admit them and continued to heap upon the latter abusive epithets. Ushmaka returned to his apartments crestfallen. Then Rukmángada entered into a contract for the marriage of his sister with Sisupála, Rájá of Chedí. As the day of the marriage approached, Rukminí determined to escape it and to seek the protection and affection of Krishna. With this view she wrote to Krishna a letter unlocking the secret of her passion for him, and entreating him to come and save her. She deputed a poor Bráhman by name Dhanadása to carry this letter to Krishna at Dwariká. On the receipt of this letter Krishna came down in his *Byomayána* or aerial carriage and rescued Rukminí from the tyranny of her brother, threatening to consign her to a forced and detestable marriage. Rukmángada and his people shewed fight, but were unable to cope with Krishna and his sturdy brother Valaráma. On the arrival of Krishna and Rukminí at his place in Dwariká a large assembly was convened, in whose presence they were married with great *eclat*. Of all the actors on the present occasion, Dhanadása acquitted himself most admirably. Although belonging to a tribe not conspicuous for wit, yet he displayed great hu-

mour. He was in fact the buffoon of the play, and as usual exhibited love for the luxuries of the table combined with much ready wit.

Rukmīnī was followed by a farce called *Uvaya Sankat*, describing the evils of polygamy.

The farces enacted at the Páthuriágháttá Theatre keenly satirise the prevailing vices; and are all calculated to evoke mirth, which has been well defined to be the forgetfulness of gloomy considerations in the present feeling of present happiness. They not only move us to merriment, but shut out all impressions calculated to disturb our equanimity. Although they attack with merciless severity the imperfections and the peculiarities of the present generation, yet they do not render the same the objects of our dislike. They merely point out the ludicrous infirmities of the Hindus during the present state of transition; but never excite disgust with their moral character.

The Páthuriágháttá Theatre is now an institution, and the only institution worthy of the purpose to which it was dedicated. Thanks to the enterprize, public spirit and enlightened liberality of Rájá Jotíndro Mohan Tagore and his worthy brother Sauríndra Mohan Tagore, it has achieved a degree of success, which, considering the paucity of dramatic talent, is to be wondered at. Not only have the celebrated *Nálakas*, *Málattí-Mádhava* and *Málavikágnimitra* been admirably performed, but the farces composed for the occasions have well depicted the manners and customs of the age.

Last year, a Theatrical Company, called the National Theatrical Company, was started at Jorasanko, Chitpore Road, which aimed at the establishment of what may be termed a public theatre. The actors received pay, and tickets of admission to the theatre were sold to the public. We are informed that the performances of this company were marked by energy and originality and generally excited admiration. They attempted every department of stage acting, viz., tragedy, comedy, farce, and pantomime. They were invited to repeat their performances at the Calcutta Opera House, Howrah Railway Theatre, and at the Eastern Bengal Theatre, Dacca, in aid of certain public charities, and only lately they were engaged to perform at the house of the Rájá of Dighápatá, Rájsháhí, on the occasion of his son's Annaprásan. We understand that financially the speculation is a success, and it is proposed to apply the surplus funds at the disposal of the company to the erection of a suitable house for the theatre.

In the drama as in politics the Hindus are in one of those epochs of transition which are characteristic of a nation that has made rapid progress in education, among whom the old times are being changed, the old ideas exploded, the old watchwords lost and the old land-marks swept away. We hope and trust that acting will soon be raised to the dignity of an art, and not

followed as a profession by men belonging to the low class of *Játrá-wallahs*. It is an art for which, as Barton Booth has said, the longest life is too short. We also hope and trust that the modern Hindú theatre will, in the words of an intelligent critic, become to the spectators as it ought to be, not merely the pastime of an idle hour, but a place of study, a whetstone of the imagination and the sympathies, a revealer of the secret springs of character and emotion, and of the subtler beauties of our finest poetry. They would learn at the same time to appreciate the niceties and the difficulties of histrionic art; and by their knowledge be enabled to stimulate merit and rebuke defects or carelessness, instead of encouraging (as audiences too often do at present) whatever is most false in conception and meretricious in style.

We hope and trust that now that Bengal has taken the lead in intellectual advancement, and the Bengali language is being enriched and approximating to the standard of the European languages, original dramatic literature will soon be created.

We would advocate the establishment of a public theatre as the best way of perpetuating the drama. Now, that private gentlemen of means and position have given the impetus, the public should take up the drama in right earnest, and show their practical appreciation of it by building a fitting abode for its representation.

KISSORY CHAND MITTRA.

[WE deeply regret to have to announce that, while the foregoing article was in process of being set up in type, its amiable and talented author departed this life, on Wednesday, August 6th, 1873. For nearly thirty years, Bábu Kissory Chand Mittra has been an occasional contributor to this *Review*; and his articles, rendered singularly valuable both by the special knowledge which he owed to his varied experience, and by the freedom and candour with which he expressed his opinions, always met with a favourable reception from the Press and the public. The first paper put forth by him in the *Calcutta Review* was one on the life and times of Rájá Rám Mohan Ráy, published in October, 1845. During the last two years his contributions have been numerous; and the present Editor is largely indebted to him for most valuable assistance in compiling the series of historical and topographical memoirs now in course of publication in these pages, under the general heading of *The Territorial Aristocracy of Bengal*. Without the aid of Bábu Kissory Chand Mittra it would have been impossible to continue that series; and the portion that has already appeared owes much of its interest to his extensive knowledge of the country and its history. By his death the *Review* has lost one of its most constant and most valued supporters.—EDITOR.]

•ART. V.—CHRISTENDOM AND ISLAM.

A Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Muhammad. By Syed Ameer Ali, Moulvi, M.A., LL.B., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-law.—London. Williams and Norgate.

THE "Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Muhammad" by Syed Ameer Ali is in one respect a very remarkable work, and most creditable to the author. It exhibits an easy idiomatic command over the English language, and is written in a style free alike from redundancy or turgidness; very rare among educated Englishmen, and quite marvellous in the case of a native of this country. The Syed seems to have shaken himself clear of all the defects of manner which mark the English compositions of an educated Hindustani; the characteristics of his book being an absence of all straining after effect, and a perspicuous brevity. Regarded simply as a literary achievement, we have never read anything issuing from the educated classes in this country which could be compared with it; and the Muhammadans of India are to be congratulated on the possession of so able a man in their ranks. It is impossible, if his after-life accords with this early promise, that he should not leave his influence for good stamped upon the country in deep and enduring characters. But with the greater part of what the book contains, we differ profoundly, and these differences and the reasons for them we propose in the following paper to set forth in considerable detail.

A "critical examination" in the European sense of the expression the Syed's book cannot be called. Such an expression conveys the impression of a careful analysis of the *Koran*, chapter by chapter, a setting forth of the precise circumstances under which each was written, a tracing out of their relations to the actual events which inspired them, and the larger application which they have since obtained from the efforts of commentators and under the pressure of vast and unforeseen complications. A critical examination again of the life of Muhammad would necessitate the working out, as an essential preliminary, of some theory as to the relations in which man stands to his Creator. Muhammad claimed to be the Prophet of God. In order to pass judgment on such a claim, we must know: 1.—Is there a God? 2.—Can He enter into direct communication with minds constituted as ours are? 3.—What proofs are there that he has ever done so? 4.—Does the life of Muhammad accommodate itself to such proofs, if any are to be had? The Syed does not touch upon any of these questions. He assumes that there is a God, and that Muhammad was His Prophet; and quite consistently with this assumption, he employs a single but

very powerful principle of criticism. He rejects as untrue all that is recorded unfavourable to the Prophet; he accepts as true all that is written in his favour; and under this treatment, it is needless to say, that the flaws which are generally supposed to mar the perfection of the Prophet's character disappear with amazing rapidity; and the Founder of Islam stands forth a living miracle of virtue, magnanimity, and wisdom. Now, it would ill beseem any follower of Christ to quarrel with a Muhammadan because he places far above all human kind the character of his Prophet; but the Syed is not content with merely doing this. His book is not addressed to his countrymen, the great majority of whom could not read it, nor understand the drift of much of the reasoning if they could. It is addressed to Christians; and the Syed holds, so to speak, a brief for the defence of Islam; and there runs, through his book, a constant side-current of depreciation levelled at Christians and most of that which Christians regard as sacred. Many of these little side-rushes are exceedingly amusing. The Syed seems to be under the impression that he is gifted with a power of divination which enables him to seize points of truth after which European scholars have been hunting for centuries. He settles them off-hand in a single paragraph or a brief note. For example he knows that "a want of firmness" made "Jesus a victim to the vengeance of the vested interests of His day." But for this He would like Moses have "struck awe into the hearts of a back-sliding rebellious race." He knows that St. Paul "infused into the simple teachings of his master the most mysterious principles of neopythagoreanism with its doctrine of intelligences and its notion of the triad borrowed from the far East." He knows that "the influence of the Essenes" is reflected visibly in the teachings of Jesus. He is certain that had Jesus lived longer, "He would have placed His teachings on a more systematic basis." He knows that the only true Christians—those alone who rightly understood the teaching of Christ—were "the Ebionites." When a magician of this kind, possessed as the papers say of special and exclusive information, appears upon the stage, the new light he throws upon the past is amazing. All things become new. The Prophet, it appears, who had nine wives, and was not content even with that number, was, in truth, an ardent champion of monogamy the religion of the Sword was really a species of Quakerism which waded knee-deep in blood through half Europe and Asia with no other desire than to administer the kiss of peace to all humanity; slavery, it need hardly be said, was "completely abolished" by Islam—the whole history of Muhammadanism, and the present state of society in Muhammadan countries, establishing that fact beyond the reach of cavil. Our readers will readily

perceive that in the presence of Muhammadanism as depicted by the Syed, Christianity and Christ cut a very poor figure. With regard to Christ, the Syed in truth takes up a very lofty position, and finds Him in the main a plagiarist from the Essenes and other unacknowledged sources. Christianity as the product of this feeble and incompetent founder is necessarily good for very little, and the Syed—who does not hesitate to re-construct the history of Europe—declares that the issue of the Battle of Tours was one of the greatest calamities that ever befell the human race. The reason he advances for this rather startling proposition, is that had the Muhammadans overrun Europe, the massacre of St. Bartholomew would have been averted. And certainly he is right so far, in as much as the chances are that in such a case there would have been no Protestants to massacre. From all this it will, we think, be apparent that this “critical examination” is, in fact, a challenge addressed to the Christian world, to come forth and fight in defence of their faith; and as such I accept it. The questions I shall discuss are two: 1.—Is the Syed’s account of the Life and Teaching of Muhammad a correct one? 2.—Allowing it to be correct, would it be possible to make it, at the present day, the basis of a religious faith for any of the advanced nations of the world?

The life and teaching of Muhammad.—There is not, I suppose, any thoughtful Englishman who knows any thing at all about the matter, who doubts that Muhammad in his youth really believed himself to be called by God to turn his countrymen from the worship of dumb idols to the service of the living God. The “impostor” theory has long ago been given up as untenable. But Englishmen, in general, will admit much more than this. They will admit that Muhammad was a Prophet sent from God to the Arabs in precisely the same sense that Jeremiah or Isaiah was a Prophet sent to the Hebrews; and that in carrying out this mission he exhibited under persecution, a lofty heroism and magnanimity worthy of all admiration. These great qualities reaped their appropriate harvest. One man after another confessed that, in the words of the young Prophet, he discerned a higher manifestation of the Divine than dwelt in idols. They became his followers; and so at length he grew to become chief ruler of the city of Medina. So far Christians and Muhammadans are at one; up to this period the veneration which the one demands for his Prophet, the other will cheerfully concede. But here they begin to diverge. The Christian historian asserts that when once possessed of power Muhammad lost the singleness of aim, and purity of mind and act which had formerly distinguished him: and instances, in proof of this, the cruel practice of assassination which he protected

and encouraged at Medina. The Syed is of course indignant, and breaks out in the following strain :—

"The Christian biographers of the Prophet of Arabia, probably under the influence of that fine sentiment called "Christian verity," have denominated the punishment of criminals, "assassinations," "murders," or "barbarous deeds" which, to the general reader, convey such an idea of horror as to revolt him, before he has time to reflect on the candour of the historian. An individual, enjoying the protection of the Moslems, stirs up rebellion against them or fomenta disunion in their midst ; he is put to death. This is assassination according to these historians. A woman, the leader of a band of determined robbers, guilty of cruel deeds, is taken prisoner. Some of the wild followers of Muhammad, not more advanced in their notions regarding the cruelty or humanity of punishments than the surrounding nations, their civilised neighbours, the Greeks, the Persians, or the Hindus—unknown to the Prophet, put her to death with circumstances of cruelty. This is at once set down to Muhammad and he is pronounced "to be an accomplice in the ferocious act." The historian admits that she was put to death without the knowledge of the Prophet, and he condemns him as an accomplice. As to the cruelty of the punishment he forgot that Christian England hanged men and women for stealing a few shillings up to the middle of the 18th century ; he forgot the terrible tortures of the rack and the stake which destroyed myriads of innocent beings in Christian Europe.—P. 124.

Here we have a distinct statement that Christian Historians, inspired by a lying spirit known as "Christian verity," have accused the Prophet of countenancing the practice of assassination, when in point of fact he never did any thing of the kind. Can this be asserted with truth ? I think not. It is true that men and women were hanged in "Christian England" so late as the eighteenth century, for stealing a few shillings, and that myriads of human beings have perished at the stake and on the rack ; but I fail to see the relevancy of these facts to the matter under discussion. No one wishes to defend such practices or those who perpetrated them ; far less to invest them with a divine sanction ; and even the Syed will probably admit that if Muhammad did connive at the practice of assassination, he was not led away by the bad example of "Christian England" in the eighteenth century. "An individual," says the Syed, "enjoying the protection of the Moslems, stirs up rebellion against them, or fomenta disunion in their midst ; he is put to death. That is assassination according to these historians." Not at all ; assassination, according to these historians, does not mean the simple act of putting a criminal to death ; but the manner in which he is killed. The whole question hinges upon that point. I may observe *passim* that I object altogether to the expressions "enjoying the protection of the Moslem"—"fomenting rebellion against them," and the like as conveying a false impression of the position of Muhammad and his followers at Medina. The Prophet at that time was simply the leader of a small party, possessing neither the moral nor the legal right

to put any one to death ; and it was, in truth, the consciousness of this imbecility that caused Muhammad to have recourse to the dagger of a murderer. But it would occupy too much space to prove this. Taking, therefore, the Syed's account as a correct one, were these offenders "put to death" or were they assassinated ?

The first victim was a woman, Asma, daughter of Marwan ; she had composed some satirical verses on the Prophet and his followers ; and according to Hishami, the Prophet moved to anger, said publicly, "Who will rid me of this woman ?" Omeir, a blind man, heard the speech, and at dead of night crept into the apartment where Asma lay asleep, surrounded by her little ones ; and plunged his sword into her breast. The next morning, at the Mosque, Muhammad asked him, "Hast thou slain the daughter of Marwan ?" "Yes," Omeir answered, "Is there any cause of fear for what I have done ?" "None whatever," replied the Prophet ; "two goats will not knock their heads together for it." Then, turning to the people assembled in the Mosque, he added ; "If you desire to see a man who hath assisted the Lord and His Prophet, look you here !"

The second victim was also a Jew—a very old man guilty of the same offence, that of writing satirical verses on the Prophet. He was murdered in the middle of the night at the express instigation of Muhammad. The third victim was Kab, the son of Ashraf, also a Jew. With the command and express approval of Muhammad, a party of Moslems enticed him under a guise of friendship to a lonely water-fall, and there cut him to pieces. After this last murder, Muhammad gave his followers a general permission to slay any Jews they might chance to meet ; and this permission was immediately followed by the murder of a Jewish merchant, apparently for his wealth, by a Moslem who united a zeal for the Faith with a proper appreciation of the good things of this world. Comment on these facts is needless ; if they are not to be classed under the designation of "assassination," murder has never yet been committed by any one.

The second dark stain which rests upon the fame of Muhammad is the massacre of the Jewish tribe of Kuraizha. We quote the Syed's account, only prefacing that there was, in this instance, a fair *casus belli*. It was not an unprovoked attack on the Jews, but one brought on themselves, by their own actions.

Under the guidance of Muhammad they (the Moslems) immediately marched upon the Jewish fortresses, and after siege of twenty-five days the Bani Kuraizha offered to surrender on the terms granted to the Bani Nadhir. This was refused, and they were required to surrender at discretion. Relying on the intercession of their old allies, the Aus, and on the condition that their punishment should be left to the judgment of the Ausite chief, Sad

Ibn Mu'âz, they submitted at discretion. Unhappily this man infuriated by the treacherous conduct of the Bani Kuraizha and their untiring hostility to the new faith, passed a sentence of unusual severity upon them. He ordered that the fighting men should be put to death, and that the women and children, with all their belongings, should become the property of the Moslems. This deplorable sentence was inexorably carried into execution."

There are a few particulars which must be added to this account. Muhammad had determined upon the destruction of this tribe from the very commencement of the siege, and when Sâd spoke his judgment, he confirmed it saying, "Truly thou hast decided according to the judgment of God pronounced on high from beyond the seven heavens." The wretched captives were brought forth in parties of five and six at a time and beheaded, the Prophet standing by an unmoved spectator of the tragedy. On this transaction our author comments as follows :—

"I simply look upon it as an act done in perfect consonance with the laws of war as then understood by the nations of the world. These people brought their fate upon themselves. If they had been put to death, even without the judgment of Sâd, it would have perfectly accorded with the principles which then prevailed. But they had themselves chosen Sâd as their sole arbitrator and judge; they knew that his judgment was not at all contrary to the received notions and they never murmured. They knew that if they had succeeded, they would have massacred their enemies without compunction. People judge of the massacres of King David according to the "lights" of his time. Even the fearful slaughters committed by the Christians in primitive times, are judged according to certain "lights." Why should not the defensive wars of the early Moslems be looked at from the same standpoint? But whatever the point of view, an unprejudiced mind will at once perceive that not the slightest blame can be attached to the Prophet in the execution of the Bani Kuraizha."

There will be some difficulty in making our way through this ingenious web of sophisms, but with a little care and patience I think it can be managed. The Syed does not seem to perceive that his argument regarding "lights" would result in depriving the Prophet of all that moral grandeur of character wherewith he desires to invest him. Doubtless, if we contemplate the Prophet merely as a Bedouin chief carrying on war according to "the lights" of his day, we shall not regard his massacre of the Jewish tribe with greater wonder than the massacre of the Amalekites by Samuel, or the Ammonites by David, but we shall regard it with precisely the same moral disapprobation. We do not accept the acts or teachings of Samuel or David as a perfect guide for conduct precisely because they perpetrated deeds of this kind; we find a higher type of humanity in Christ. But what the Syed wishes us to perceive in Muhammad is a being even more perfect than Christ, with loftier and purer moral energies and a grander purpose. It is absurd to insist upon this on one page and then on the next to ask us to judge this sublime personage only by "the lights" of his time—the lights, that

is, possessed by a people sunk in the grossest idolatry. When the Syed says that "an unprejudiced mind will at once perceive that not the slightest blame can be attached to the Prophet," we suppose he must be joking. The Prophet at that time was supreme in Medina; every utterance that came from his lips was supposed by his followers to be a divine decree issuing directly from the throne of God; he himself assumed that character, and there can be no doubt, that it rested with him whether the Kuraizha perished or not. He chose the former alternative; and his character as a Teacher of Humanity must stand or fall by it. If Muhammad really believed it to be will of God that these men should be slaughtered and their wives and children sold into slavery, he ceases *ipso facto* to be a moral exemplar for the present generation and those that will come after. If he did not believe it, but only pretended to do so, he sinks at once into an impostor, and except as a historical figure ceases to have any significance for us. It is moreover misleading to say that this act was "in perfect consonance with the laws of war as then understood." It was contrary to precedent. Two other Jewish tribes had been conquered only a very short time previously by the Moslems of Medina, and no such hard measure had been dealt out to them. They were simply expelled from their settlements, or as the Syed puts it, "the clemency of Muhammad's nature overcame the dictates of justice and they were simply banished." Even on the present occasion, as the Syed knows well, the Prophet was passionately entreated by the old allies of the Kuraizha, the Banî Aus, to deal kindly with them, and he himself calls the judgment of Sâd, "a sentence of unusual severity," which it would not have been if it inflicted the recognised and habitual punishment on prisoners of war. There is in truth, no mystery whatever in the motives which guided Muhammad in this transaction if we take the Syed's advice, and judge of it by "the lights" of the time. Muhammad hated the Jews. He acknowledged the authority of their scriptures, holding that he himself was the continuation and completion of the Revelation accorded to them. But this claim the Jews would not admit, and Muhammad, after many fruitless efforts to win them over, became their bitter enemy. "Thou shalt surely," he writes in the fifth chapter of the *Koran*, "find the most violent of all men in enmity against the true believers to be the Jews and the idolaters." But before his power was firmly established at Medina; when many, even of his own countrymen, regarded him and his teaching with extreme dislike and distrust; when the Jews from their number and influence were still formidable antagonists; and his enemies at Mecca were bitter and unrestrained by any check on the battle-field, it was necessary to proceed with caution. He deemed it prudent to provide a

golden bridge for a flying enemy ; and the two Jewish tribes who were first expelled from the neighbourhood of Medina were treated with moderation. But when the Banî Kuraizha were put to the sword, Muhammad was at the height of his power. The disastrous raising of the siege of Medina had given him an undisputed authority over the people of that city ; the Banî Kuraizha was the last Jewish tribe left in the vicinity ; and judging the action of Muhammad as Syed Ameer Ali urges us to do, by " the lights " of the time, it is clear to me that the vengeful instincts of the Bedouin chief proved stronger than the natural clemency (a quality he undoubtedly possessed) of the Founder of Islam. Do I then consider Muhammad guilty of conscious imposture when he declared the cruel decree of Sâd to be ratified by the approval of God ? Assuredly not ; any more than I consider Deborah to have been an impostor because she declared the blessing of heaven to rest upon the murderess Jael. There is no such short and easy method to account for the inconsistencies of humanity ; truth and falsehood, good and evil, in thought or speech or act do not stand out in plain and startling contrast, but pass by almost imperceptible shades from one into the other. And such was it in the case of Muhammad. At the basis of his character, the very source and spring of all his energies, lay the belief that he had been called out by God to do a mighty work, but as with many another actor on this world's stage, success dimmed the clearness of his moral insight. He got to regard himself not merely as a Prophet or Interpreter of the Will of God, but a delegate in whom a portion of the Divine authority was literally invested. And so, step by step, he was led along the downward road, confounding the promptings of revenge, the impulse of his own ambition,—nay even the appetites of the flesh, with the mandates of the most High God. In all this, he merely trod a path which has been trodden by a multitude of religious reformers before and since ; but not the less fatal to his claim to the permanent allegiance of mankind. The moment we can criticise our benefactors in the light of a fuller knowledge than they possessed, the relation of Master and Disciple has ceased. Syed Ameer Ali is himself an unwilling witness to this fact. . He knows more than the Prophet ; he knows that this massacre was a bloody and atrocious act ; and so asks us to judge him by " the lights " of that day, feeling well that by " the lights " of this, he would stand utterly condemned.

The third great stigma that according to Western opinion, mars the fair fame of the Founder of Islam, is his incontinence in respect of marriage, and his whole legislation with regard to women. It is regarded among us, as the *tritest* of truths that Christianity has raised the status of woman ; and Islam kept her degraded. It is needless to say that our author considers the exact reverse

of this to be the truth. Jesus Christ, it appears, depreciated marriage; the Prophet with the nine wives was in fact the true slayer of giants who gave the death-blow to polygamy. This is a difficult thesis to make good; but the courage of our author is at least equal to his dexterity in logic. He is dismayed at nothing. This is what he has to say regarding Christ—

"The influence of the Essenes, which is reflected visibly in the teachings of Jesus, combined with an earnest anticipation of the kingdom of Heaven, had led the Prophet of Nazareth to depreciate matrimony in general, although he never interdicted or expressly forbade its practise in any shape. And so it was understood by the leaders of Christendom at various times—that there is no intrinsic immorality or sinfulness in plurality of wives."

It is amusing to read the familiar manner in which our author speaks of "the Essenes" as though they were gentlemen living in the next street, whom he had known intimately from his childhood. There is very little known about the Essenes, and how that little is "reflected visibly in the teachings of Jesus" I am at a loss to discover. The Essenes were a sect, whose fundamental tenet was borrowed from Persian Dualism; they held the flesh to be the seat of all evil, utterly prohibited marriage and lived in the habitual practice of asceticism; the only part of the Old Testament scriptures which they acknowledged was the Pentateuch, they never crossed the threshold of the Temple or took part in its services, or manifested any interest in the destinies of their country. Christ so far from being an ascetic was continually taunted with the reproach that he was not one, but on the contrary "a gluttonous man, and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners"; so far from prohibiting marriage he honoured it with His presence; He caused little children to be brought to Him, saying that "of such were the Kingdom of Heaven;" a marriage feast is one of His favourite images, as typifying the purest human happiness, under which to represent the Kingdom of Heaven; and He declared emphatically that marriage was a divine ordinance and that "for this cause a man should leave father and mother and cleave unto his wife, and they twain should be one flesh." In these words He laid down the animating soul, the essential idea of Christian marriage; and if the Syed knows of any Christian Divine who ever thought or said that polygamy was not sinful and immoral in a follower of Christ, I should be glad to hear his name. Of course this, like every other precept of Christ, has been transgressed by Christians times out of number, but it had at least his effect. Polygamy has never become a legalised institution in Europe. This, however, is foreign to our immediate purpose. We will pass on to what our author has to say on the laws of marriage the *Koran*

"Among Muhammad's own people, the Arabs, unlimited polygamy prevailed, prior to the promulgation of Islam. A man might marry as many

wives as he could maintain, and repudiate them at will. A widow was considered as a sort of integral part of the heritage of her husband. As the legislator of his own nation—the benefactor of the human race at large, it was Muhammad's mission to provide efficient remedies for all these accumulated evils. By limiting the maximum number of contemporaneous marriages, by giving rights and privileges to the wives as against their husbands; by making absolute equity towards all obligatory on the man; by guarding against their being thrown helpless on the world at the wilful caprice of a licentious individual, Muhammad struck at the root of the evil.

But it is the negative part of the law which shews the profound depth underlying it. The proviso we refer to is not only qualitative in its character, but serves, in fact, to nullify the permissive clause. Construed plainly, it means—no man shall have more than one wife, if he cannot deal “justly” and equally with all The conditional clause added to the permissive part being essentially obligatory in its nature, noncompliance with its requisites lays the individual open to the charge of contravening the laws of Islam. And hence in every way the law itself may be considered as prohibitive of a plurality of wives.”

These remarks remind me of the rapid multiplication of Falstaff's men in buckram. It was only the penetrating eye of one who had discerned “the influence of the Essences reflected visibly in the teachings of Jesus” which could have discovered these rich stores of hidden wisdom in the crude and simple laws laid down by Muhammad on marriage and divorce. Except in their after consequences,—in the dismal fact that they sealed through all the regions of Islam the degradation of woman, and to this day make of her wherever the *Koran* is held to be the word of God, “a soulless toy for tyrants' lust,” these laws would be unworthy of examination. They do not exhibit, and indeed it was impossible they should, a glimmer of insight into the refining elevating and spiritualising power of an equal love between man and woman. The woman throughout is treated as a passive agent, who had, of course, no voice in the disposal of herself, but who being a sensitive creature—if you prick her, she would bleed—Muhammad advises a certain degree of consideration for this unfortunate peculiarity; but the laws themselves are neither better nor worse than might be expected from an Arab chief of that day, who perceived the ill-consequences of unlimited polygamy, but never thought of the relations between the sexes as anything but a felicitous arrangement for increasing the pleasures of men. The principal provision is contained in the following passage;—“If ye fear to be unjust unto orphans, fear also to be unjust unto your wives. Marry only two, three, or four. But if ye fear that ye cannot act equitably towards so many, marry one only or the slaves which ye shall have acquired.” The meaning of this last provision is that slaves being an inferior order of animal could be maintained on a less expensive scale than a free woman, and therefore what would suffice for only one free woman would serve

to keep three or four slaves. The word "equitably" refers merely to the establishment—what we should call "pin money"—granted to each wife. The wife who was convicted of infidelity on the testimony of four witnesses was to be kept in solitary confinement until she died, or to quote the language of the *Koran*, imprisoned "in separate apartments until death released her or God affordeth her a way to escape." The duty of beating a refractory wife was expressly enjoined. "Those, whose perverseness ye shall be apprehensive of, rebuke; and remove them into separate apartments and strike them." The right of divorce rested with the man, and was simple and absolute; no restrictions whatever are laid down to limit this power; from all that appears to the contrary in the *Koran*, a man might, at any moment, with or without pretext, turn his wife out of house and home. The following is the rule on the subject,—“Ye may divorce your wives twice; and then either retain them with humanity or dismiss them with kindness But if the husband divorce her a third, she shall not be lawful for him again, until she marry another husband.” Wives on the other hand have no rights whatever against their husbands. These latter are, it is true, exhorted to treat them “equitably,” but if they decline to do so, the wife has no law to appeal to which might afford her protection. The *Koran* does not contemplate the possibility of a right of divorce existing in her; and the only provision which secures her something is the following:—“If he be desirous to exchange a wife for another wife, and ye have already given one of them a talent, take not away anything therefrom,” and in another place it is stated that it is incumbent upon a true believer to furnish a reasonable provision for a divorced wife. When it is remembered that these two, three or four wives might be supplemented *ad libitum* with slaves; that a Moslem might compel a slave even though already married to cohabit with him; that it is expressly stated in the *Koran* that God will be gracious and merciful to such slaves as are prostituted for the gratification of the Faithful,* it will be apparent to every one that to speak of Muhammad as having dealt a blow at the very root of polygamy is to talk nonsense.

This, however, is not the principal point. The power for mischief inherent in these laws grew, not out of the actual laws, but from the manner of their promulgation. If Muhammad had merely claimed for himself the position of an ordinary ruler and lawgiver, knowing that it was out of his power to abolish poly-

* And compel not your maid servants to prostitute themselves if they be willing to live chastely
... but whoever shall compel them,

verily God will be gracious and merciful unto such women after their compulsion.—Sura xxiv.

gamy altogether, but seeking to the utmost of his ability to restrain it within narrow limits, he would doubtless have been a great benefactor to mankind—only in such a case, his laws would have carried no weight beyond the cities of Medina and Mecca. But the position he actually assumed was radically different. He was the Prophet of God; the *Koran* was the word of God—the direct utterance of the most High. Again and again in the chapter that contains these laws and regulations he seeks to drive them home to the minds of his hearers by the expression “This is the ordinance of God;” or “This is ordained you from God,” and declares that those who believe not on Muhammad are “the men whom God hath cursed.” They will, he says, be “surely cast to be broiled in hell fire; so often as their skins shall be well burned, we will give them other skins in exchange that they may taste the sharper torment; for God is mighty and wise.” Herein lies the vast difference between the Christian Bible and the Muhammadan *Koran*; the one is the history of a Revelation; the other is the Revelation itself. The one may be handled in a critical spirit without robbing it of its authority, because it is only the testimony of men recording that which they had seen, and their hands had handled of the Word of Life; but the *Koran* was declared by Muhammad to be and received by his followers as the very word, the spoken thought of God. Apart from it there was no revelation. These laws about marriage and divorce were not the words of a legislator liable to err, incapable of seeing the complications that would arise in the coming years; they were the words of God before whom the Past, Present, and Future lay like an open book. They contained the divine idea of the relations which ought to exist between the sexes; and they have always been acted upon as such. Hence, the degradation of women in Muhammadan lands and their enforced seclusion; and hence, also the abominable license of female slavery. In regarding women as exclusively created to foster the delights of the other sex, the Muhammadan world has done no more than act up to the commands of the Prophet and the *Koran*. But worse remains behind. The Prophet, as is well known, could not limit himself to the four wives, which number he had declared to be ordained by God. He had nine. Of course our author in this as in all else, can see nothing in Muhammad or his actions that is not entirely admirable, and is as usual very wrath with “Christian writers” who fail to see the excellence of these precedents. These unfortunates are, it seems, in this matter under the possession of another spirit, not “Christian verity” but “Christian charity,” which means “the heaping of vituperation on all the benefactors of humanity unless of their creed.” “A dispassionate examination of facts, a thorough analysis of motives from the stand point of humanity” will, however,

put this matter in the right light, and cover these calumniators with confusion. "This dispassionate examination" results however in a simple statement that the Prophet married some of his wives from political motives, and others in order to provide them with a home. It does not seem to occur to Syed Ameer Ali that such a justification as this is laughably insufficient. If the Prophet had been simply actuated by a charitable desire to support certain indigent women, he might surely have done so without marrying them; while to transgress a divine ordinance for political advantages is conduct not very laudable in a Prophet of God and an exemplar for all humanity. It is, however, idle to discuss these points. It is sufficient to know that Muhammad never attempted to account for his marriages by either the one reason or the other. He boldly said that God had given him a dispensation; that the laws which applied to other men did not apply to him: that what was a sin in them was innocent in him. His words are explicit and unmistakable.

"O Prophet, we have allowed thee thy wives unto whom thou hast given their dower, and also the slaves that thy right hand possesseth, of the booty which God hath granted thee; and the daughters of thy uncle, and the daughters of thy aunts, both on thy father's side and on thy mother's side, who have fled with thee from Mecca, and any other believing woman, if she give herself unto the Prophet, in case the Prophet desireth to take her to wife. This is a peculiar privilege granted unto thee, above the rest of the true believers. Thou mayest postpone the turn of such of thy wives as thou shalt please in being called to thy bed; and thou mayest take unto thee her whom thou shalt please, and her whom thou shalt desire of those whom thou shalt have before rejected; and it shall be no crime in thee."

I do not know in what way Syed Ameer Ali would explain away a passage like this, but certain it is that this and others like it which are to be found in the *Koran* had a terrible and most disastrous influence on the destinies of Islam. The *Koran*, as I have so frequently insisted upon, was held by the orthodox world of Islam, to be the very word of God, eternal and uncreated, residing as some of them would have said, in the very essence of the Deity. This gave to every precept in it an equally obligatory force; it placed on one and the same level the duties of the ceremonial laws, and the fulfilment of the decrees of the conscience. Out of this conviction arose that conception of the Deity, which throughout Islam has succeeded in well-nigh extinguishing every other—that which regards Him simply as a Fate whose moral laws are as purely arbitrary as his ceremonial. And in such passages as this from the *Koran*, in such acts as the massacre of the Banī Rurayza, and the murders perpetrated at Medina, the

true believer found the evidence and the sanction for his belief. If that was right in Muhammad which was wrong in other men, it was clear that the moral laws which cramped and fettered men at every turn could not be an expression of the character, a manifestation of the essence of Him who made the world. He must be above them and independent of them ; and good and bad, believer and unbeliever were, so to speak, the results of a malicious caprice—arbitrary deductions from the sum of human enjoyment. " Whomever," says the Prophet, " God shall please to direct, he will open his breast to receive the faith of Islam ; but whomsoever He shall please to lead into error, he will render his breast straight and narrow as though he were climbing up to heaven. Thus doth God inflict a terrible punishment on those who believe not."

Syed Ameer Ali has other chapters which, but for want of space, I should have been glad to examine. From these I learn with considerable surprise, that the *Koran* abolished slavery, that Islam has never been aggressive, that the Muhammadan is remarkable for being the best man in the world, and that every conceivable blessing has flowed into Europe from Muhammadan channels. The reasoning by which all this is supported is truly wonderful. They do not, however, directly concern the character of Muhammad, and are therefore foreign to my immediate purpose. But enough I think has been said to show why Muhammad cannot be accepted by the West as even a particularly high type of humanity. The faith in Christ as the Son of God, some people hold to be waning ; but none will deny that belief in his humanity is on the increase. There was never a period in Christendom when the moral beauty of the character depicted in the four Gospels commanded a deeper or more affectionate reverence. But imagine how the light would fade away from the lineaments of Jesus of Nazareth, if we knew on authority that could not be doubted that He had ordered His Disciples to fall upon Judas and murder him as a manifest traitor ; that he had stood calmly by, an approving spectator, while two or three hundred Pharisees had been butchered in cold blood by his followers, and their wives and children reduced to slavery ; that while enforcing in His teaching the utmost purity even of thought, He had claimed for Himself, on the authority of a divine dispensation, unlimited license in act. Who in such a case would accept either Him or His teaching as the example of a godly life ? Even Syed Ameer Ali must, I should think, confess that no one would. I have no wish to " vituperate the benefactors of humanity " in the name of " Christian charity." But facts are stubborn things ; I have instanced only a few of those which leave an indelible stain on the fair fame and moral grandeur of the founder of Islam.

The Basis of Religious Faith.—Passing now from the con-

sideration of Muhammad's character, and accepting, for the sake of argument, that Syed Ameer Ali's conception of him is the true one, that he was really "one entire and perfect chrysolite," the noblest, grandest and purest man that "ever lived in the tide of times," and that the *Koran* is a work instinct throughout with wisdom and moral insight,—would even a general acknowledgment of these assertions constitute a sufficient basis for an enduring and progressive religious faith? We think not; and here it is that the Syed's reasoning so completely breaks down. His own faith in Muhammad and the *Koran* is, we suspect, of a much more orthodox and thorough going character than appears in the present work. This "critical examination" is a concession to the spirit of modern rationalism; an attempt to show that Islam also can endure and survive the most searching attacks of the (so called) "higher criticism." But in his eagerness to show this, the Syed has forgotten to inquire what is the only possible basis of a religious faith, and whether Islam handled in the free spirit he recommends, does not become a system of no greater authority than the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, Auguste Comte, or any other speculative teacher. What is Religious Faith? It is preëminently a feeling which is kindled by and attaches itself to certain conceptions of the Deity, which it believes God Himself to have communicated to men. It starts from the divine ground; the moment it can be shown that what Faith has believed to be a revelation of God, was in fact nothing but the guesses at truth of a human intellect working according to the ordinary laws of thought, religious faith perishes. Belief then becomes a purely intellectual matter, based exclusively upon the reason, not as in the case of religion on the whole inner-man, intellectual, imaginative, and emotional. History establishes this. There is no religion that has greatly moved the world, which has not claimed the allegiance of mankind on this ground, that it had come down from God. Certainly Islam did. The Prophet, by the repeated and express declarations of the *Koran* was regarded as the special favourite of heaven. "Verily" says Muhammad, "God and his angels invoke blessings upon the Prophet." And again, "Verily they that trouble God and His Apostle, God hath cursed them in this world, and in that which is to come: He hath prepared for them an ignominious punishment." The *Koran* was declared to be the thoughts and decrees of God, communicated to Muhammad by the angel Gabriel. These revelations extended over a period of three and twenty years. "The *Koran*," we are told, "could not have been composed by any except God. . . . there is no doubt thereof; sent down from the Lord of all creatures." And in another place—"It is He who hath sent down unto you the book of the *Koran* distinguishing between good and evil and they to whom we gave the scripture know that it

is sent down from the Lord with truth. Be not therefore one of those who doubt thereof." And this awful character attaches not merely to the moral exhortations of the *Koran*, but to every part of it. It is throughout the pure and absolute expression of the Divine Will. Here is indisputably a firm foundation for a religious faith of a kind. It silences argument and criticism. Of what avail is it to bring the reason to bear upon the enactments about marriage and divorce or to point out that women are thereby condemned to perpetual degradation? The Lord of the whole earth has declared that such are the correct relations between the sexes, with the alternative, if you do not like them, of being "broiled in hell fire." Of what use is it to complain that the ceremonies of the Pilgrimage are meaningless and absurd, or that the reverence paid to the black stone is a disgraceful concession to the old idolatry of Arabia; there is the old answer, "God has ordained it thus and not otherwise; if you prefer not to believe in the saving efficacy of these ceremonies, the other alternative is open to you,—you can be broiled in hell fire?" But, on the other hand, the Faithful would add, why think about the matter at all? Why trouble your head with things that are too high for you. Believe in God and His Prophet, and perform whatsoever they command you, and you become forthwith an heir of paradise, wherein are "agreeable and beauteous damsels, having fine black eyes, and kept in pavilions from public view." A faith of this kind cannot conduct men very far in the path of progress. It binds the whole of human life under the yoke of an iron necessity, and the present state of Islam is a convincing proof of its enervating and corrupting power. But to those who accept it, it speaks with a voice of authority; it is a revelation of God communicated by God to men. Precisely the same kind of reasoning has always been applied to the Prophet himself. An orthodox Muhammadan would never think of weighing him and his acts in the nice scales of a scrupulous conscience. He would think it impious to do so; whatever the Prophet did, becomes right *ipso facto*, whether it be the murder of a Medina Jew, or a scandalous intrigue with a Coptic slave girl, or the butchery in cold blood of a Jewish tribe. And if we grant his premisses, his conclusions are undoubtedly right. If God and his angels invoke blessings on the Prophet, what is man that he should presume to sit in judgment upon the actions of such an exalted being? But Muhammadanism handled as Syed Ameer Ali would have us treat it, vanishes away like morning mist until nothing remains. The pilgrimage to Mecca, the five daily prayers, the laws about slavery, marriage and divorce, so soon as they cease to be regarded as divine ordinances, lose all their binding force. The wild Jewish legends and old Arabic traditions which so plentifully encumber the pages of the *Koran*, and make it such weary reading to

the Western mind, would have to be carefully excised as, in the West at least, their retention would certainly give occasion for the irreverent to blaspheme. The revelations accorded to Muhammad regarding Ayesha, and the Coptic slave and his other wives, would also have to go. And in truth it is difficult to say what could be safely preserved, except the addresses setting forth the unity and majesty of God. But how changed would even these be, if men were asked to receive them, not as a voice proceeding out of the clouds and darkness that shroud the splendour of God, but merely as the speculative opinions of an untutored Arab poet. "A mere opinion" the *Koran* tells us, "attaineth not unto any truth." When therefore Syed Ameer Ali speaks of "the grand destiny which the religion of Muhammad has yet to fulfil in the world"—which we suppose means the conversion of the West—we wish he had been somewhat more explicit. The only conceivable reason for which the West would become Muhammadan, would be that Islam was a Revelation from God. Is the *Koran* then the word of God; and if so, where is the proof of it? If on the other hand it be not the word of God in the orthodox sense (and the Syed speaks of it throughout as the composition of Muhammad), it lacks the one element of persuasion which alone could have the power to convert a Christian into a Muhammadan. It does not and cannot speak with authority. And this remark brings me to what is more immediately the subject of my essay—CHRISTENDOM and ISLAM. Syed Ameer Ali has of course a good deal to say on this point, and it is needless to add, that under his handling, both Christ and Christianity come out very small indeed. All the little good that there is in the world has, according to him, flowed from Islam, and by far the larger part of the evil from Christianity. The greatest calamity it appears that ever happened to Europe was the terrible defeat of the Arabs at the battle of Tours, and the repulse of the Muhammadans when they besieged Constantinople for the first time. Had these events turned out otherwise, Europe would have become Muhammadan, arts and literature would have been accelerated seven hundred years, and there would have been no religious wars, or religious persecutions. Spain in particular would "not have become the intellectual desert it now is, bereft of the glories of centuries;" and "the reformation of the Christian Church would have been accomplished centuries earlier." "Islam," it appears, "introduced into the modern world civilisation, philosophy, the arts and the sciences: every thing that ennobles the heart and elevates the mind." From all which it is also plainly apparent that the Syed can, when it pleases him, write very pure and perfect nonsense. Christ he considers as far inferior to Muhammad both in the purity and grandeur of his life and teachings, and in the work He has accom-

plished. But precisely as he has totally misconceived the spring and motive power from whence the religion of Muhammad drew its terrible aggressive force; and also when that force was spent, the nerveless, unprogressive apathy under which the regions of Islam are at this moment every where rotting into utter barbarism; so also has he failed to understand what Christianity is. He talks of Christ throughout as the Prophet of Nazareth; this, of course, is only natural; but he seems to have no perception that had Christians deemed him to be only such, there would have been no Christendom. Men and women did not submit to the axe and the stake for a Jewish prophet, but for an incarnate God who had overcome death and brought light and immortality into the world. Religious faith, in this as in all other instances, was awakened and sustained by a revelation (real or supposed, it matters not) direct from God and made by God. When men speak of the belief in Christianity as being on the wane, they mean that men are beginning to regard Christ simply as a prophet or teacher, and not as a divine being who, in revealing the secrets beyond the grave, spoke of that which *He* knew from personal experience.

A rational, enduring and progressive religious faith must possess both an objective and subjective foundation. Subjectively it must meet and respond to the spiritual needs and aspirations of humanity; objectively it must be laid on a firm basis of historical fact. All religions, except one, have broken down on either the one side or the other; and most commonly on both. It is natural that enthusiastic Muhammadans, like Syed Ameer Ali, should speak of Islam as still having a great destiny to fulfil; and it is possible that at some remote day, the decaying body of Islam may shake its limbs together under some fierce impulse of enthusiasm, and hurling them *en masse* on Europe, seek to recover, at the sword's point, the burning zeal and invincible force of its prime. Writers like Mr. Palgrave and others declare that the old fire is gradually awakening within the soul of Muhammadanism, and that Christendom may again have to repeat, in veritable earnest, the prayer to be delivered from "Jews, Turks, infidels and heretics." We utterly disbelieve these gloomy prognostications; but this at any rate is not "the grand destiny" which Syed Ameer Ali foresees in the future. Islam in his eyes is to become a grand regenerating Power, which is to embrace the Western world, not less than the East within the range of its influence. It is difficult to believe that even a devout Muhammadan, who has been in Europe, should cherish with any degree of conviction so chimerical a dream as this. There is about as much chance of the old Pagan mythology being restored, and of sacrifices being offered up to Apollo and Minerva. The question would never get so far as to be debated. The sink-

ing down of the West into a condition of utter scepticism and religious indifference is just conceivable; the substitution of Muhammad for Christ is palpably ridiculous. The claims of only one faith, as a revelation from God, are yet held as matter worthy of debate, and that faith is Christianity. That the faith in Christ will eventually emerge from its present fiery trials more deeply rooted in the hearts and consciences of men, is my firm conviction. The present questioning and debating, which seems to many to be cutting out the very heart of it, are, in my opinion, only cutting away certain excrescences and outer coverings, which have hindered its full beauty and significance from appearing to the world. They are driving the Defenders of the Faith to seek for a foundation laid, so to speak, deep in the nature and life of man, which must therefore be as enduring as humanity itself. Unproveable assertions about miracles, inspiration, the authority of the church, and the like—assertions about which it is impossible to argue except in a circle—are becoming less and less frequent every day. Christ established his divinity by performing miracles. Yes, but how do you know that he did actually perform these miracles? Because the Bible says so. Yes, but how do you know that the Bible speaks truth in this matter? Because it is a divinely inspired book and therefore infallible. Yes, but how do you know it is divinely inspired? To this there is no response, except because the Bible is true, or because the Church says so, which only removes the difficulty a step further back. For if we ask whence the Church derived this authority, we must be told from Christ, and then the old weary round of question and answer must be trod again until we are brought round to our first starting point. Modern criticism has then done us the service to make this singular method of proving a position increasingly impossible. It has compelled the thoughtful Christian to seek for some more rational ground of faith than the *argumentum in circulo*. And it is not difficult to find.

The idea of a special Revelation accorded to the Jewish people is distasteful to Modern Thought (misled it must be admitted by orthodox Theology), because it seems to involve a perpetual miracle. Modern Thought sees clearly enough that the Jews, their Leaders, Kings and Prophets, were men of like passions with ourselves, liable to the same errors, subject to the same infirmities, and they ask what reason is there to suppose that these Psalms and Prophecies of theirs were produced by any miraculous process peculiar to themselves. They are quite right as Christendom is beginning to discover. There was nothing miraculous in the production of the Jewish writings—not "miraculous," that is in the modern scientific application of the term—no breach or infraction of the Order of Nature. Assuming that there is a God, He must

govern the world either in this way or in that or some other. Assuming that He had determined to make known to men the method of His moral government, and selected as His agents for this purpose a particular people, and opened their minds to receive this knowledge, there would be no breach in the laws of nature—nothing in any way more miraculous in the Jews' possessing this particular knowledge, than in any man or nation possessing any gifts or powers whatsoever which are not possessed equally by the whole human race. The question resolves itself into one of simple historical fact. Did the Jew possess this knowledge or did he not? We can see at a glance that the present advanced state of the Western world is not due to Jewish influences alone. The education of a world is a work many-sided; and there are vast regions of human activity which never came within the cognizance of the Jew. Man would be infinitely poorer than he is, if the gifts of Philosophy, Poetry, and Art had not been lavished upon the Greek, or if the capacity for government, and the sense of the majesty of Law had been withheld from the Roman. They all were divine gifts which have helped powerfully to "build up the being that we are." But it is manifest, from their whole history, that neither Greek nor Roman ever attained to a living and lasting conviction of a One God ruling the earth in righteousness, or as Mr. Arnold would prefer to put it of "an enduring Power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness." The utter corruption that overtook their schemes of life is due to the lack of this conviction; and not only so, but wherever and at whatever time we examine the story of men, we find that nations have decayed and fallen back into barbarism just as they have ceased to believe in an "enduring power not themselves, that makes for righteousness."

This essential element then, in the growth of humanity, has been supplied by the Jew; inasmuch that could we sever from the structure of Modern Thought all that it has derived from Jewish sources, the very belief in this "enduring power" would perish from among us. This is both illustrated and confirmed by the remarkable fact that where the literature of the Jews has not penetrated, the belief, as a practical guide to conduct, never has existed and does not do so at the present time. It is manifest, moreover, that the experiences of life do not suggest it as a matter of course; otherwise it would have been the common heritage of Assyrian, Chaldean, Greek, and Roman. Whence, then, had the Jew this knowledge which none of the nations of antiquity possessed—to the clear and perfect apprehension of which the Jew himself could never attain—and yet to forget which has been, as all history shews, the death knell of empires and dominions, the sure and certain precursor of utter decay. Is there any

answer possible, any answer conceivable except that the Jew was taught it by God? The æstheticism of the Greek, the practical ability of the Roman, the mora insight of the Jew, are all His gifts; but the last involves of necessity a clearer and more direct perception of the mind of the Giver. The first two are as though we should guess at a man's character through the medium of his works; the last as though we should *know* his character by direct contact with the man himself. In what way could it be expressed better or more truly than as a Revelation or Discovery of God? And so also with regard to the Incarnation. There is nothing miraculous, no infraction of the Order of Nature, in the statement that the Word of God took flesh and dwelt among men. Spring and Summer, Autumn and Winter were not thereby disarranged; all things in heaven and earth went on as they had done from the beginning; only God who had been partially manifested again and again in all the good and great men who had ever lived, revealed Himself fully in the form of a man. The Word of God who had been the light of every man who had come into the world was then made known in the fullness of His perfection. The point at issue is not a question as to the possibility of the miraculous, but one of simple historical fact. Can Christianity be accounted for in any other way? For if the New Testament History be true, the Incarnation, so far from being an infraction, must be a part of the Universal Order. Here, then, is that which modern criticism has effected for the faith in Christ. Hitherto we have been expected to swallow it, so to speak, in a lump and undigested, in virtue of a number of miraculous sanctions—miracles, inspiration, Church authority—which were supposed to act as a fence putting it quite out of the reach of irreverent criticism. But now, at length, it has been discovered that the fences derive all their strength from that which they are supposed to defend. They *may* be true, if Christianity be true; but they cannot be assumed to be true, and then used as arguments to prove the truth of Christianity. The very foundations of the Faith are now being assailed, and this I say is an advantage, because in no other way could the indestructibility of those foundations be adequately made known. The discussion has passed into the arena of facts. What has Christ done for mankind? Can generation after generation be led into an ever higher life, and fuller development, while their mental food from childhood is a gross and palpable falsehood? Do we find this progress in lands where Christianity has not been known? Does such progress generally accompany truth or falsehood? Such questions as these every one will perceive, cannot be pushed aside offhand by an *a priori* assertion that miracles are impossible and therefore Christianity must be a delusion.

The next great change that is being gradually effected by Modern

Thought is a right estimation of the evidential value of the miraculous. Until within the last forty years, miracles constituted the very cornerstone of the Christian Faith, with two almost equally disastrous results. If from any cause whatsoever any one became convinced that miracles were impossible, the whole fabric of Christianity, so far as he was concerned, came down with a run. During the eighteenth century this kind of scepticism abounded, and it could not well have been otherwise. Miracles proving Christianity, it was impossible that Christianity should render miracles authentic; the evidence of their possibility must be sought for elsewhere; and especially by an examination of the regular order of Nature. Now the recognised definition of a miracle was a break in the order of Nature; of course therefore such an examination *per se* could conduct to no other result than to an utter disbelief in the miraculous, and this feeling, we see, manifested in the Deism of that day. But even to those who experienced no difficulty in accepting the miracles of the Bible as historical facts, the undue prominence given to them had the effect of shutting out from their perceptions the moral beauty of Christ's teaching. Dreadful scholastic definitions of "Atonement," of "Justification," of "Original Sin" were accepted without hesitation, without an inquiry whether they did not outrage all the moral instincts of man. What matter if they did? God had manifested His omnipotence by a variety of wonderful and tremendous achievements, and the duty of weak humanity was not to argue and criticise, but to hear and obey. But Modern Thought has wrought here a great and most beneficial change. It has driven Theology to see that men cannot be policed and bullied into Christianity. It is the love of God, and not His power, which will alone avail to regenerate the world. Looking at the Bible records and the history of Christendom under this new light, the miraculous at once passes into that subordinate position befitting it. We found above that a special Revelation of God having been granted to the Jews is established by the fact that they actually did possess this intuition. The Jewish Psalmists and Prophets, and in a less degree the entire nation, were inspired and bound together by this awful and abiding consciousness of God in a wholly unique and exceptional manner. But in all other respects they were made of precisely the same clay as ordinary humanity, subject to the same errors and infirmities, and liable to the same intellectual delusions. Consequently if we cut out, as pure legend, the entire miraculous element from the histories of the Old Testament; the "God-consciousness" (as the Germans would term it) which is the important fact for us, would remain as true and significant as ever. For this last is a fact guaranteed to us by the actual present preservation of poems and prophecies whence it speaks forth in every line; the (so-called) "miracles" are merely the means

whereby the Jews believed themselves to have attained that knowledge—a point on which they might easily have been mistaken. Put an analogous case. A man has come to the knowledge of a certain fact, which he can state clearly and accurately, and which is capable of being verified ; but when pressed to give an account of the process whereby he grasped this fact, he gives one which is manifestly vague and erroneous. Does this invalidate the fact? Assuredly not, for that as we have said is capable of being verified independently. It only shows that the man does know the one thing, but does not know the other. The moment a man apprehends this distinction and all the consequences that flow from it, the miraculous portions of the Old Testament become so many statements of fact asserted by old historians, the examination of which he is ready to undertake in the same dispassionate frame of mind as of similar statements in Herodotus. But what then is the attitude of mind which a thoughtful man should assume regarding the miracles of the 'Old Testament? Are they facts, or are they only myths? The question is one which cannot be answered offhand ; which will be answered in different ways by different people. I will try to explain my own position.

The consciousness in the Jew that God was about his path, and about his bed, and spying out all his ways, had the inevitable result of making him either apprehend—or imagine that he did so—the direct interposition of the Almighty in everything that befel him. It is plain that a habit of mind like this, in a rude untutored age that had never learned to *interrogate* Nature, was the exact soil on which a crop of miracles would be sown and fructify in almost unlimited abundance. Legends would grow up plentifully and be easily accepted which told of any striking illustration of God's especial favour for his chosen people ; and there are many stories recorded in the Old Testament which, to my thinking, manifestly bear this legendary character. The passage of the Israelites into Canaan, dryshod over the Jordan ; the fall of the walls of Jericho ; the miraculous feats recorded of the prophet Elisha, seem to me to be stories of this kind. The staying of the sun and moon was, I fancy, originally intended as nothing but a poetical fancy ; it was converted into concrete fact in the transfer from the Book of Jasher to that of Joshua. But there are other stories in the Old Testament which are records of facts that actually happened, and only interpreted in a manner alien to modern thought. A miracle it must be remembered in the mind of a Jew, was not an infraction of one of our (so-called) laws of Nature. He knew nothing about these ; it was simply *a sign of God's presence*—that is, it was addressed to the *mind* and not the eye of the beholder. Its significance resided in its subjective power over the soul.

Take by way of illustration the *sign* of the Burning Bush. Modern Thought reading this story at once exclaims, "This is absurd; the property of fire is to burn and consume whatever it touches; what therefore Moses beheld could not have been a bush actually on fire, but an optical delusion." Granted. But why should not God employ an optical delusion as the means of producing a conviction of His presence? "Abu Ali al-Fudail, a celebrated ascetic and one of the *men of the path* drew his origin," we are told by the Arabic biographer, Ibn Khallikan, "from a family of the tribe of Tamin, which had settled at Tālākan. He commenced his life as a highway robber and intercepted travellers on the road from Abiward to Sarakhs, but his conversion was operated by the following circumstance. As he was climbing over a wall to see a girl whom he loved, he heard a voice pronounce this verse of the *Koran*, 'Is not the time yet come to those who believe that their hearts should humbly submit to the admonition of God?' (*Sura* 57 v. 15). On this he exclaimed, 'O Lord that time is come!' He then went away from the place and the approach of night induced him to repair for shelter to a ruined edifice. He there found a band of travellers, one of whom said to the others, 'Let us set out,' but another answered, 'Let us rather wait till daylight, for al-Fudail is on the road and will stop us.' Al-Fudail then turned his heart to God, and assured them they had nothing to fear. He ranked amongst the greatest of saints." The verse of the *Koran* which thus converted, as if by magic, a robber into a saint—can it be described in any way so truly, so accurately as that it was to him a *sign of God's presence*? The bright light which shone round about Saul as he journeyed towards Damascus may or may not have been a miracle in the modern signification of the term; it is impossible to say whether it was or not, and it is utterly unimportant. It was to the future apostle, a *sign of God's presence*; and as such it became the turning point of his career, and one of the mightiest and most far reaching events that are to be found in the entire history of Christendom. The sign of the burning bush is an exactly analogous instance. The exile from his own people, brooding over their wrongs and sufferings in the silence and solitude of the desert, must often have re-called the promises made to Abraham. The future Founder of a nation, rich in all the learning of the Egyptians, endowed with strength and courage and wisdom, must often have had within him an eager desire to lead forth his down-trodden fellows to the Promised Land. Could it be possible that God might have predestined him for the accomplishment of this glorious task? If so, He would surely vouchsafe him some *sign of His presence* and aid? His thought appears to meet with a response. He sees the bush that burns with fire and is not consumed; he hears a

voice commanding him to undertake, in full assurance of success, the mighty work he had been brooding over. Of what importance is it to us to gauge the exact scientific value of this vision. What matter whether the burning bush were an objective fact, or simply a subjective and purely personal experience. Moses, we may rest assured, did not weigh such nice points; he accepted it as a *sign of God's presence*; and the result proved him to be right. Had Moses failed in his endeavour; or had he never attempted the deliverance of his people, the vision of the burning bush would have been to us an optical delusion and nothing more. But when we know it to have been a critical epoch in the history of the world—an event fraught with illimitable consequences—it becomes, not the less an optical delusion—if we are bound to translate the language of the Bible into the scientific jargon of the day—but one sent for a particular end, informed with a divine purpose, serving and intended to serve as *a sign of God's presence*. The ten plagues of Egypt, the passage across the Red Sea, the three days of pestilence that humbled the pride of King David, were all miracles which would be much better described as “signs of God's presence.” Probably all three, and certainly the last two were due to purely natural causes, but not the less God made use of purely natural phenomena to work out great moral ends. And does He not continue to do so still? Have not war and famine and pestilence, and tremendous natural catastrophes been accepted in all ages and by all nations as the signs of God's anger, recalling humanity to a sense of the duties laid upon them? Do not peace and plenty, exactly as of old, make us feel that there is one who “sendeth rain and fruitful seasons filling our hearts with joy and gladness?” They are signs of God's presence to us; they were nothing more to the Jews.

The Jew knew nothing about secondary causes; he drew no distinction between the natural and the miraculous; God with him was all in all. God it was who came walking upon the wings of the wind; who covered himself with light as it were, with a garment, and stretched out the heavens like a curtain. God it was who had made the world so fast that it could not be moved who sent the rain and the thunder, the storm and the sunshine. And hence the sign of the Burning Bush, which led to his deliverance from Egypt, was also a sign of His presence; the plagues which humbled the haughtiness of Pharaoh, the storm that destroyed his army in the waters of the Red Sea, were alike the work of God. If you had asked him whether they were brought about by natural or supernatural causes, he would have attached no meaning whatever to such an inquiry. God had delivered his people, that was all he knew. God had stretched forth his arm over the river of Egypt, and the waters had become

as blood; God had "caused the sea to go back by a strong, east wind and made the sea, dry land;" but the terms "natural" and "miraculous" belong to a jargon which had not then come into existence. It was the *fact* of deliverance that impressed the Jew; not the physical conditions under which it was accomplished. There is, I admit, a considerable quantity of legendary matter in the Old Testament which cannot be made subject to this principle. For example, it seems to me impossible to regard the dialogue between Balaam and his ass otherwise than as a myth pure and simple; not only is it utterly incredible, but it is meaningless and irrelevant, a manifest interpolation which destroys the continuity of the story. Other incidents such as in the contest of Elijah with the priests of Baal the fire that came down from heaven and consumed the sacrifice, are either pure miracles or pure myths; they cannot be explained away as merely natural phenomena, interpreted after a manner peculiar to the Jews. Their authenticity or otherwise will depend very much on the frame of mind which a critic brings to their examination. But here too, in order to correctly estimate their significance, we must bear in mind that they are parts of a whole—incidents in a grand national drama, gradually unfolded from the call of Abraham to the return from the Captivity. During all this long period we are witnesses, so to speak, of the history of an idea—the idea of a One God ruling the earth in righteousness; gradually detaching itself from polytheistic and anthropomorphic elements, until it acquires an undisputed ascendancy over the Jewish mind. This it is which gives its special unity to the Old Testament writings. They may be read as a grand epic poem which recounts the long contest between the many gods and the One—Isis and Dagon and Bel and Ashtareth and Moloch, against the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob—resulting in the ultimate victory of the One. What judgment we pass on the objective reality of the incidents of this tremendous contest will depend mainly upon the judgment we have come to regarding the objective reality of the contest itself. Was it an actual veritable struggle between spiritual powers of good and evil, or only a shadow-fight projected from the too active imagination of the Jew? If the last, then we may be certain fire never came down from heaven at the bidding of Elijah. But if Elijah was in word and in fact, the servant of a Living God, the story ceases at least to be incredible on *a priori* grounds. The questions then to be asked are—1, Does the story, as related, bear the impress of veracity? 2, Was the end to be obtained sufficiently great to justify the means? From my stand-point both questions would be answered in the affirmative. The history of the Jews too, it must be remembered, commences with the call of

Abraham, and not with the story of the Fall. But commencing from that point, I think that with the aid of this simple principle—that a miracle to the Jew was not a breach in the Order of Nature, of which he knew nothing whatever, but “a sign of God’s presence” to be tested by its effects upon the mind—the “miraculous” difficulties of the Old Testament may nearly all be surmounted without questioning the veracity of the writers or destroying the moral significance of “the sign.” It is manifestly absurd to expect that a Jew of that period will record and describe natural or other extraordinary phenomena with the scientific caution and precision of a Huxley or a Tyndall.

So much on “the miraculous” as recorded in the Old Testament. But it is clear that the miracles of Christ cannot be treated in the same manner; either they were objective realities or they were nothing at all. What then, in the face of Modern Thought, is the position we must take up here. On this subject, the first point worth noting, as it seems to me, is that none of the acts recorded of Christ are of that nature that if accomplished, they would need the whole solar system to be thrown out of gear. They are mostly acts of healing which derive their miraculous character not from their inherent impossibility, but from the absence of secondary agencies in effecting them. The feeding of the five thousand, the raising of Lazarus, and the Resurrection, do not come under this category; but these likewise are, if we may use the expression, detached events having no far-reaching ties with the whole system of things as would have been the case, had Joshua really stayed the motion of the sun and moon; or if the sun had really gone back fifteen degrees on the dial of Ahaz. They do not disorganise nature; they work no consequences outside of themselves; they only contradict experience. Of course they, as well as all things else recorded of Him, are utterly incredible if Christ was only a man; but if the Lord of all life, physical and mental, was to be revealed to the world; if the consciousness of Immortality was to be impressed upon men, they become the most natural and fitting means for accomplishing those ends. Now, no one acquainted with the Epistles of the New Testament would be hardy enough to assert that the early Churches adopted Christ as their ever present though invisible head, knowing Him to be nothing but a man. St. Paul writing to the Romans says that he is entrusted with “a Gospel of God concerning His Son, Jesus Christ, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and declared to be the Son of God with power by the Resurrection of His dead limbs;” and this mode of regarding Christ is common to all the Epistles. They establish the fact that from the very birth of Christendom, Jesus of Nazareth was regarded as the manifestation of God in a human form, and that the proof of this rested

upon the belief in His Resurrection from the dead. And if we look along the whole history of Christendom, we shall find it one unbroken testimony to St. Paul's assertion that "if Christ be not risen from the dead, then is our preaching vain and your faith is also vain." The ethics of Jesus of Nazareth, apart from this belief in His divinity, would have availed nothing; men and women clung with invincible faith, not to a moral teacher, but to the incarnate Son of God who had entered into the state of death, had grappled with that—the universal irresistible enemy of man—and had overcome it. They could endure the worst which tyrants and persecutors could inflict on them because, since the entrance of Christ into the state of death, and His Resurrection thence, there no longer stretched beyond the margin of the grave a dim land peopled with strange and fearful shapes, but "a heaven from which there came and could come nothing but light and blessing to the earth." The miracle of the Resurrection may then be said to be the cardinal fact, the very corner-stone of Christianity. If the evidence breaks down here, no internal beauty, no adaptability to the moral needs of Humanity, can preserve the faith once delivered to the Apostles from being treated as an imposture or delusion. They erected it on this foundation, and if that be removed, the superstructure necessarily tumbles into ruin. On the other hand if this fact can be established on a firm and solid basis, even a professed sceptic would have little reluctance in receiving as objective truths the other miracles recorded in the Gospels.

The relation in which the Epistles stand to the Gospels is often unwittingly overlooked, and long trains of argument are built up due mainly to this omission. The Gospels are handled as if they had built up the early Christian Churches, and the Epistles had come after them. The exact opposite is the truth. The Epistles are specially valuable as giving us in a form altogether beyond suspicion the fundamental beliefs of nascent Christendom, almost immediately after the death of Christ. The incidental notices of Jesus scattered through them are in perfect harmony with the portrait drawn for us in the Four Gospels; the great salient facts of Christ's life and death are, nearly all of them referred to in language devoid of ambiguity; and Gospels and Epistles, so far as they cover the same ground, illustrate and confirm, but never contradict each other's statements. The Gospels again, whether historical or not, are manifestly the work of earnest seekers after truth. None but men who felt to the uttermost the beauty of holiness and charity and strove to manifest it forth in their own lives, could have delineated "the Saviour" of the Evangelists—a fact altogether incompatible with, at least wilful imposture. In truth, even in the present age of scepticism and criticism, their narratives would be credited without hesitation, but for the intermingling of "the miraculous."

But if it can be shown that the most stupendous miracle of all recorded by them is testified by an abundance and variety of evidence, which can rarely be accumulated round any historical fact, then *a fortiori* the lesser miracles become stripped of their incredibility. If we can accept the Resurrection, with as much assurance of certainty, say, as the Battle of Waterloo, we should have no difficulty in believing the miracles of healing, the casting out of devils, and the like.

We find, then, that immediately after the death of an obscure Galilean preacher, a society rose up in the heart of the Roman Empire claiming Him as their divine though invisible Head, and appealing in confirmation to the fact of His Resurrection. This Society, unlike those nurtured upon ordinary superstitions, does not become a gloomy intractable fanaticism which merely agitates without purifying the world in which it exists. Without material force, it simply wins its way by the persuasive power of a high ideal presented before the minds of men. From the evidence of its literature we find that among its first and most devoted adherents were men of profound thought, and the most beautiful and elevated spiritual capacities. They rank to this day as among the greatest moral teachers of all ages. We find that this belief in a Resurrection nerves slaves and weak women to endure without flinching the most terrible tortures; and we see finally that during a period of eighteen centuries, it has reigned with increasing power over the minds of men, but acting throughout as an incentive to all progress. The first thing, then, I would ask: Is there anything akin to this in the history of the world? Do false superstitions lead to these admirable consequences? In the case of broken down religions can we not, with ease, disengage the good from the bad? Do we not all say that that which led men to higher levels of life was good—that which tended to lower and corrupt them, was bad? And is it not the merest truism to say that the one was good because it had truth in it, and the other bad because it had not? Without this belief in a Resurrection the very foundation and vital sap of Christendom would have been lacking—Does it accord then with human nature to believe that it puts forth its loveliest blossoms, and yields its choicest fruits when fed upon a lie?

"But the actual accounts of the Resurrection"—say some—"How are we to believe these? The details differ so much from each other that any attempt to reconcile them is futile." What of that? We do not disbelieve the fact of the Battle of Waterloo because there are utterly hopeless discrepancies in French, English, and Prussian accounts of it. They are all at one as to a great battle having been fought, and that is sufficient to establish the central fact. Nay, in this matter of the Resurrection,

the discordant accounts given in the Four Gospels immeasurably strengthen the evidence for the event itself. Had they agreed in every particular, the result would certainly have been deemed a concerted forgery. The four accounts as we have them, are utterly free from a suspicion of collusion; and show, therefore, that the belief was universal in the early Church. It was only natural and indeed inevitable that in the widely scattered early Churches, where the means of intercommunication were scanty and difficult, there should be differences of detail in the collateral circumstances that attended the great central fact; but they cannot invalidate *that*—rather as I have already said, they multiply the evidence in proof of it.

This belief, then, in the first instance must have been propagated by the Apostles. If not the statement of a fact, it must have been either a conscious imposture or a mere delusion of the imagination. The theory of "conscious imposture" may be dismissed without discussion. All reasonable critics are agreed that conscious liars could not have laid the foundations of Christianity. There remains, then, that of an "imaginative delusion." Nothing that I can say is likely to detach any one from this theory who has already embraced it. There is a credulity of scepticism which is not less irrational than the credulity of superstition; but I will point out the huge weight of probability that tells against it. Even an imaginative delusion must spring from some root; and in the present case it could have been only one of two. The Prophet of Nazareth may have been a man precisely as the Four Gospels have depicted, asserting himself to be the long promised Messiah of the seed of Abraham in whom all the generations of the world were to be blessed, exhibiting at once His power over the world and His love towards mankind by a series of redemptive acts—triumphs over disease and misery and sin—informing the minds of those who heard Him with a new moral life; predicting His death upon the cross, but declaring at the same time that this—His seeming defeat—would really be the commencement of His conquest over the powers of the world; that on the third day He would rise from the grave, and that from that hour, a Spirit would proceed from Him, which slowly but surely would penetrate the obdurate heart of man, and make a new heaven and a new earth. The fierce, capricious and lustful deities of the old Pagan mythologies would be re-placed by One who out of His tender love towards mankind suffered death upon the cross; the principle of self-love would be re-placed by that of self-sacrifice; the worship of power by that of love. If the Prophet were really a man such as this, then the belief in His Resurrection might, perhaps, have been the imagination only of loving minds; but then it is manifest also that in such a case it would have been

such a perfectly natural and even inevitable sequence to his foregoing life that a very slight amount of evidence—far less than is preserved in the annals of the early churches—would suffice to transfer it from the sphere of the imagination to that of history. But those who reject the credibility of the Resurrection do so on the *a priori* impossibility of miracles, and they reject along with it all the miracles recorded in the Gospels from beginning to end. In their eyes Christ is merely a moral teacher, who was executed as a criminal; and the halo of divinity which is cast around Him in the new Testament Epistles not less than Gospels—they interpret as the affectionate yearnings of the heart investing the object of Love with all the attributes it would desire it to possess. According to this theory, there was nothing in the life of Jesus of Nazareth to justify the supposition that He would rise from the dead. The belief was due solely to the too eager imagination of His disciples. Now, if there is one fact which comes out in the Gospels more clearly than another, it is that the Apostles were totally destitute of imagination. They never rise above the level (intellectually) of ignorant Galilean fishermen. Their Master's mission, and His sublimest precepts are consistently translated by them into the most earthly and thoroughly material equivalents. They look forward to His becoming a great worldly potentate; they behold themselves in anticipation the chief favourites of an Oriental despot, and quarrel for the places to the right and left of His throne; they are filled with sore dismay when He speaks of his ignominious end; and are simply bewildered by the obscure hints that He will rise again. When He was arrested they all forsook Him and fled; when He was dead they accepted it as the final crushing of their hopes; when told of His Resurrection, "the words appeared to them as idle tales and they believed them not." These men, it is plain, were altogether honest and truthful or they would not have left behind them such candid and unflattering portraits of themselves; but no one will deny that they could not have possessed a single spark of Imagination. To credit them with having first imagined the story of the Resurrection, then believed in it with such intensity of conviction as to undertake the enterprise of building up a world-wide Faith with this dream as its foundation; and finally to have evolved an image of their Master so perfectly in harmony with this central tenet that we have the Four Gospels as the written record of their preaching, is a demand on human credulity which only modern scepticism would have dared to make. It would, if true, constitute a greater miracle than the Resurrection itself. * Granted that Christ did rise, and that His spirit did inform and elevate the minds of his disciples, and the marvellous transformation that came over them is accounted for by an adequate cause.

Deny the Resurrection and Christianity becomes like a rootless stick planted in a waste of sand, which nevertheless becomes vaster, mightier, and more enduring, than all the trees of the forest.

Few, however, of those who reject Christianity care to examine with any thoroughness the chain of historical evidence that knits together the religion of Christendom. It is a task tedious and laborious in the extreme, and men prefer to believe upon trust that English theologians are profoundly ignorant, except Bishop Colenso to whom it has been given to destroy the Pentateuch utterly; and that Germans, who—also upon trust—are credited with inexhaustible learning and an unerring critical acumen, have proved the Bible to be myth from beginning to end.* Their alienation from Christianity is due to some statement of its leading doctrines revolting to their moral sense, which has been impressed upon them when children, or enforced in later life with terrific threats by some injudicious preacher. But in no department of theology have the enlightening and purifying influences of Modern Thought operated with more marvellous results than here; and it is in the great and thorough reformation which the dogmatic system of Christianity is under process of undergoing that I rest my faith in its permanent power over humanity. So long as the foundations of Christianity were sought for in something not essentially moral—such, for example, as the power of God manifested in the achievement of prodigies, or an Infallible spirit ventriloquising through the passive minds of Psalmists and Prophets—the moral contradictions involved in scholastic systems of theology were, as we have already said, held to be of comparatively small moment. Christianity was boldly held to be a set of commands from God proved by miracles, and enforced by frightful penalties; if in the face of all this any one chose to reject it on the score that it offended against his conscience, that was his look out. He knew the consequences. We do not mean to say that any one ever did or ever could become a Christian driven thereto by a panic at the thought of hell fire. The extraordinary inconsistency of the mind enabled human beings in all ages to believe at one and the same time in the everlasting love of God, and His everlasting wrath against those who had sinned; just as numbers of devout people have held slavery to be in exact harmony with the precepts of Christ. But a time comes when men as

* In this connection I may, perhaps, be permitted to refer to another article of mine published in this *Review* about nine months ago—"The true test of a Revelation." It is only a col-

lection of hints, but even as such it may suggest the line of inquiry which ought to be taken by any one examining the historical proofs of Christianity.

though by magic, awake up to a sense of the error that has so long been hidden from them, and then, like Othello,—

Not poppy nor mandragora,^o
 Not all the drowsy syrups of the world
 Will ever medicine them to that sweet sleep
 Which they owed yesterday.

Such is it now. The fetters of scholastic theology have been broken ; the old dogmas so formal, precise and business-like, seem all at once to have collapsed, and it appears to be in any one's power to make the shifting cloud, called Christianity, assume what shape he pleases. So we find the authority of Christ appealed to to establish every variety of Faith, from the infallibility of the Pope, away to the vaguest and most shadowy Theism ; and people think as they listen to the Babel of tongues that the power of the Teacher of Nazareth must be passing away, not reflecting that this universal appeal to His authority is a conclusive testimony to the breadth of His teaching and the depth to which it must have probed the human heart. The change that is passing over Christian theology is the putting of a living soul into the dead bones of dogma, the transforming of formal propositions in divinity into the exhibition of a Power actually and sensibly engaged in the redemption of Mankind from evil. A few paragraphs will suffice to shew this sufficiently for our purpose.

The story of "the Fall" as related in the second chapter of Genesis has succumbed, or is fast doing so, under the assaults of scientific discovery and a more searching Biblical criticism. We know now that the appearance of man upon the earth ascends into an antiquity infinitely more remote than was contemplated by the writer of this Eastern Apologue ; while the latest critical inquiries tend to establish that the story itself is of Babylonish origin, and appropriated by the Jews during the Captivity. Whether this be so or not, few people now-a-days think of quoting Adam and Eve and the talking serpent, as a proof of a primal fall or the need of an atonement. They have been driven to seek for its evidence, not in an Oriental parable of doubtful origin, but in the very nature of man ; and there they find the story written in characters which those who run may read. Is man in the state in which he *ought* to be ? Or is it not the fact that the voice of conscience is continually reminding every one of us, that we are continually transgressing moral laws we are made to obey ? Can man do the thing that he would ? Or is not the experience of St. Paul, an universal one, that to *will* is present with us, but the *power* to do that which we would is absent ? Do not we all see in the innocent guileless faces of children, an image of what our minds should be ; but is it not a sad but incontrovertible truth that from the first moment of our birth

all the evil that has been done before us, weaves its meshes around us, and gradually drains us dry of that early purity and joyousness? There are men, it is true, who fight against this universal enemy with some measure of success; they ascend to higher levels of existence than the crowd below; but here again is not Paul's agonised entreaty to be delivered "from the body of this death," an universal experience? And are there not many more who become the willing slaves of the evil influences about them, and steadily, as the saying is, "go to the bad"? Or if we take a larger outlook, does it not become daily more and more apparent that war and pestilence and famine, are the results of human selfishness, human ignorance, and human indolence? Do not all the poverty, and wretchedness, and disease and filth abroad in the world, which we are so utterly powerless to remedy, shew that humanity has fallen into an utterly chaotic and disorganised condition? Man cannot remedy or remove this vast accumulation of evil and error, for as we have just been compelled to admit, he is incapable of elevating even his single self to his own ideal of what he should be. If he cannot effect this in a single instance, it is manifestly absurd to suppose that he will ever effect it for the world at large. Thus we are led to see that the Christian doctrine of a "Fall of Man" does not in the smallest degree depend upon the story of Adam and Eve. It merely asserts a patent and terrible fact, that men have fallen into a *wrong* state, and lack the ability to bring themselves into a *right* one.

Out of this *fact* springs the need of an atonement,—in other words the need to be brought into harmony with the Creator. Here again, thanks to Modern Thought, we have nearly succeeded in getting rid of Shylock-like explanations of the Atonement—legal transactions with a wrathful God who must have His pound of flesh if not from this person then from that—and have commenced to build upon the sure broad ground of human nature. It is, simply, a matter of fact, that, in all ages and among all people, the seemingly invincible power of evil has caused men, in a variety of ways, to regard it as a Divinity. Sometimes they have thought of it as a coequal principle with that of good; sometimes they have called it Fate; sometimes, as at the present day, the tendency is to regard man as only a cunningly contrived piece of mechanism which turns out what is called "good" or "evil" according to the manner of its inner construction. It is plain that any one possessed by any of these beliefs, cannot enter heartily and confidently into the battle against evil, whether it be that within him or that in the world without. Whenever, as in India or the regions of Islam, the belief in Fatalism, becomes general, stagnation ensues; followed at no distant interval by a constantly increasing moral and intellectual imbecility. The

only possible method of escape is to bring man to a right understanding of the order of things—in other words to set him *at one* with the Creator of the universe. Does God hate evil? Is He determined to eradicate it from His universe? Are men bound over to commit evil, whether they like it or not? Or is there a Power working on their side, stronger than the evil that is working out their destruction? To get at the right answers to these torturing doubts—in other words to *know God*—constitutes the doctrine or rather the fact of the Atonement. “God,” says St. Paul, “was in Christ, *reconciling the world unto Himself*,”—dispelling, that is, the false beliefs about Him, by the manifestation of His real character. I am not asserting that He actually did so; that can be decided only by an examination of the historical evidence; I am only pointing out here that the leading doctrines of Christianity are based upon the deepest needs of human nature, and perfectly harmonise with the teaching of conscience.

From the doctrine of Atonement we pass naturally to that of Sacrifice. Here again, thanks to Modern Thought, we have shaken ourselves free from Mediaeval Theology with its dreadful theories of a God who had made up His mind to destroy mankind, but forewent this amiable intention upon receiving an equivalent in the execution of his own sinless Son. We have got rid, I say, of all this; and with no glamour before our eyes, have come straight to the New Testament to find out what the life and death of Christ actually means. The professed object of Christ's life and death was to work out the salvation of man in a two-fold manner—by the revelation of God in the fullness of His perfect Love, which constitutes what is known as the Doctrine of the Atonement—and by the illustration in His life and actions of the principle of conduct which ought to govern the relations of men with each other—in other words, the principle of self-sacrifice. It is a poor and mutilated conception of “salvation” which regards it as the future transfer of the fortunate recipient to some divine land flowing with milk and honey, and it runs counter to the direct declarations of Christ, “*The Kingdom of God is within you.*” “*This is life eternal (i.e., salvation) to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He has sent.*” Salvation constitutes a certain particular condition of mind; when a man is brought into a *right* state, so that he obeys spontaneously and without effort the voice of conscience enlightened by Christ, he is saved; and just so far as any of us accomplish this, we enter into eternal life even here in this present world. The law of conduct, Christ teaches both in word and act, whereby alone we can approximate to this “salvation of the soul,” is to sacrifice ourselves for the good of others; love is the strongest power in the world, and through it alone can the families of men ever be united into

one. "I," says Christ, "if I be lifted up will draw all men to me," meaning that the crowning sacrifice, which shrank not from the cruel death of the cross in its earnest zeal for the elevation of humanity, would speak to future ages with a voice of power that would penetrate the most obdurate heart. The death of Christ is not a means of averting from men the wrath of God, but the crowning illustration of the Law of Love which alone has the power to deliver them from the bondage of sin into the glorious liberty of the children of God. And did not Christ speak truly? Has not that pure and perfect human life which closed upon Mount Calvary drawn all men towards it? Has it not been to all the centuries since, the example of a godly life—the embodied idea of humanity?

But if the world is to be regenerated and men brought into a right state, it is not enough though God should actually descend from the skies and make known what that right state is. Man has fallen under the bondage of sin; and he needs a Power higher and greater than his own to liberate him from its fetters. The simple exhibition of a right state cannot remedy his inherent incapacity to reach up to it. Christ acknowledges and provides for this weakness. He promises that after His departure, His spirit will remain among men to provide that strength and inner illumination that would otherwise be wanting. Is not this precisely what has happened? If we shake ourselves free from theological definitions and look facts in the face, is it not strictly true—a truth that every one, Christian or Sceptic, would cordially acknowledge—that for the last eighteen centuries the Spirit of Christ has been moving over the face of our Western world, and subduing all European thought—more or less—to the likeness of its own image. It is "the Spirit of Christ" that has abolished slavery, mitigated the horrors of war, made the relief of the poor and destitute an imperative duty on those that have abundance; sanctified domestic ties; and leavened the thought of Europe to a degree immeasurably greater than the acts. Here again the Christian makes no demand on *the faith* of the Sceptic; he only points to a vast number of historical facts which are patent as the sun in heaven.

Thus have we been led up, step by step, to what is known as the great mystery of "the Trinity in Unity;" but if, forgetting for a while Athanasian Creeds, and similar bewildering documents, we investigate the idea of God set forth in the New Testament, we shall find there that nothing more is affirmed of the Triune nature of the Deity than each of us may verify by his own experience. Every man is a Trinity in Unity. There is firstly, the man himself, who may direct his mental and physical energies in this direction or in that exactly as he pleases; there is secondly, the *word* that proceeds forth from him—in other terms his character, the work he does in the world, the impression good or bad that he leaves upon his

fellows ; and there is finally the spirit of the man, which binds together the man, his character, words, acts, and thoughts into a living unity. The man, his life, and the spirit in which he lives, can never be confounded together by the most unpractised metaphysician, and yet cannot be thought of as being otherwise than one. What the Bible affirms is that man is made in the image of God, and consequently that in God we find that archetypal "Trinity in Unity" which is nevertheless reflected in each one of us. God is the Creator of the Heavens and the Earth ; the Word who took flesh, is the perfect manifestation of His character ; the Holy Spirit is the living power that unites them ; and these three are One.

R. D. OSBORN.

ART. VI.—RIFLED ARTILLERY.

A Paper for the General Reader.

SCARCE a week passes but that interesting person "the general reader" finds the columns of his English newspaper more or less taken up by some question of artillery. He finds, for instance, a description of a "Field day at Shoeburyness," where all the novelties of the past six months are exhibited to a mixed company of Officers, naval and military, British and Foreign, Inventors, Amateurs, Contractors, &c. The description is generally in considerable detail; as few technical words are used as possible, and the results are pourtrayed with all the word-painter's skill. The description is often supplemented by the wood-cuts of the *Illustrated London News*. Despite these modern advantages, "the general reader" finds himself incapable of comprehending with any satisfactory degree of clearness what he has read; and were he to attempt to convey a notion of the new ideas which have entered his head to another person, he would find himself utterly at a loss. He may have inspected guns great and small, and perhaps have seen them fired; he may be a sportsman, or a volunteer, and have a certain knowledge of small arms; but of the principles involved in rifled artillery, he knows nothing. He may read discussions on the respective merits of breech and muzzle loading in great guns, treated with an ardour and vigour of language worthy of a theological controversy; but beyond learning that there is a good deal to be said on both sides of the question, he can form no intelligent opinion of his own.

It is purposed in these pages to give such elementary notions of rifled artillery as shall place the intelligent "general reader" in a better position to comprehend a somewhat abstruse subject. No technical words shall be used without an explanation, and every effort shall be made to put what we may have to say in what is called a popular form. Nevertheless, we shall have often to call upon him to use his mind's eye and to attempt to penetrate where no human eye can see. The scientific artillerist will hardly find the perusal of our pages either interesting or profitable.

If the reader will accompany us while we consider the nature of a smooth-bore gun, he will be in a better position to comprehend that of a rifled gun. A smooth-bore gun is, essentially, a strong vessel in the form of a tube closed at one end. It is attached to a carriage of a convenient height and of a form suited to the nature of the service it has to perform. The gun is capable of having its bore directed

above or below the horizontal plane through the trunnions* ; and further of being retained in any given position of elevation or depression while the gun is fired. The bore is a smooth cylinder into which is introduced, first the cartridge containing a suitable charge of powder, and then the cast-iron spherical or "round" shot. With a very little thought we can convince ourselves that when the powder charge is exploded the force of the gas at the instant of explosion will be at a maximum immediately about the seat of the powder and shot ; we are then led to the obvious conclusion that the thickness of the metal of the gun towards the breech should be greater than that at the muzzle. This consideration alters the external form of the exterior of the gun from a pure cylinder, the form we shall have conveyed by using the word tube, to a truncated cone, or to a tube with a stout jacket on it towards the breech or closed end.

At the moment the charge is lighted, the gunpowder does not flash instantaneously into white-hot gas ; but the burning of the grains is very rapidly progressive : after the generation of only a portion of the gas, the round shot is set in motion, as it requires but little force to roll a ball. And here it must be remembered that to get the round shot into the gun it is necessary that its diameter should be somewhat less than that of the bore : and that when it is rammed home up to the charge, it lies, in consequence of its weight, on the lower surface of the bore, leaving a "lune" or crescent-shaped empty space around the upper surface of the shot. Through this empty space a portion of the gas escapes ; and as it is in a high state of tension it presses the shot down on the lower surface of the bore, at the same time that the greater portion of the gas impels it forward. The reaction of the metal of the gun causes a rebound of the shot to the upper surface ; and the combination of this vertical motion with the horizontal motion of propulsion, results in the shot pursuing a zig-zag course through the length of the bore. Recognizing the existence of this motion, which is verified by the examination of the bores of the bronze † siege pieces of Foreign Powers, the traces of the blows of the shot being clearly defined, we cannot fail to see that the final direction of the shot as it escapes from the gun will depend upon the position of the last bound in the bore. Should, for instance, the last bound be against the lower side of the bore, the shot would fly further than if it had struck the upper side. If it

* Trunnions are cylindrical blocks of metal immovably attached to the gun, fitting suitable seats in the gun-carriage.

† Bronze, as applied to guns,

is an alloy of copper and tin. In England the word "Brass," an alloy of copper and zinc, was erroneously applied in former days to the metal of the field-guns.

were to strike on the right side, the shot would fly to the left of the point aimed at, and *vice versa*. Need more be said to shew the great irregularity of the shooting of smooth-bore guns?

And yet there are many other sources of irregularity, a few of which may be mentioned. The quality and the condition of the powder vary; the diameter of the bore of the gun and of the shot vary between certain manufacturing limits; the weight of the shot again varies between certain limits. Again, no shot was probably ever cast perfectly solid, so that its centre of gravity rarely if ever coincides with its centre of figure. Lastly as every shot on leaving the bore is as it were detained for an infinitesimally short period as it touches the bore, while the opposite point of the sphere is free to fly forward; so every shot attains a motion of revolution round a variable axis. This axis will often change according to a well-known mechanical principle; and as this principle is of the highest importance as regards rifled guns, it must be explained in some detail.

Let us imagine any body which may be set in motion of revolution to be divided into a mass of particles closely fitting each other, like the grains in sand-stone. Let us say that one of these particles is situated at a distance of two inches from the centre of revolution. The force or quantity of motion with which the particle will act is represented in mechanics by the mass of the particle multiplied by the distance; the "moment" of the particle is represented by the force multiplied into the distance; that is, by the mass into the square of the distance. Now, if the sum of the moments of the whole of the particles of which the body is composed be taken, that sum will form what is termed "the moment of inertia" of the body.

Further, in any body, whatever be its shape, there are three lines termed the "axes of inertia." If the body revolve round the first, the movement of rotation gives the maximum moment of inertia. Around the second, the moment of inertia is a minimum. Each of these is attended with this peculiarity, that when it is the axis of rotation, the motion continues round that axis; and if by any extraneous cause the axis be displaced by a very little quantity, it will alter every instant, but always reapproach the principal axis of inertia. The axis of minimum inertia has this peculiarity to a smaller degree than the axis of maximum inertia; that is, the limit of displacement is less with the former than with the latter.

The third axis is intermediate between the two others and is of no importance in the question before us.

To fix the ideas as to these axes, let us take a new laid egg while yet soft, and squeeze it until the cross section, instead of being a circle, shall be an ellipse. The minor axis of this ellipse

will be the axis of maximum moment of inertia. The line joining the centres of the big and little ends of the egg will be the axis of minimum moment ; while the major axis of the ellipse of the cross section will form the third or intermediate axis. When one of the two first lines is used as the axis of rotation, the motion of rotation is stable ; in any other case, it is unstable.

The stability of the axis of greatest moment of inertia may be easily practically shown. Take a coin such as a penny ; and at any point on the surface distant from the centre, bore a hole through it and attach a thread nine or ten inches long. Hold the end of the thread between finger and thumb, and twist it. The coin soon begins to revolve about a vertical line through the point of attachment ; the axis of the coin, in the first instance, preserves the same inclination to the vertical line which it had when in a state of repose. The disc thus turns round the axis of the greatest moment of inertia ; but as the velocity increases, that inclination increases, and the coin raises itself up despite the force of gravity.

If, in lieu of a disc, we take a cylinder of a length of from ten to fifteen times its diameter and attach a thread at any point other than its middle, the axis of the cylinder, in the first instance but little distant from the vertical, will by degrees become more and more distant, approaching gradually the horizontal position as the velocity of rotation increases.

The reader is now in a position to understand how that the round shot leaving the bore in a state of rotation will change its axis of rotation, if that axis be not one of the two principal axes of moment of inertia : and a change of axis of rotation will superinduce a change of direction in the flight of a spherical projectile, if the centres of figure and of gravity do not coincide ; and this we have stated to be invariably the case.

In firing smooth-bore ordnance, the projectile appears for a considerable portion of its curved flight to be going directly towards the object, when suddenly it may sometimes be seen to diverge to the right or left. This change of direction is due to the alteration of the axis of rotation, and it is chiefly observable in large hollow projectiles—shells ; chiefly observable possibly from the velocity being less, and from their size being greater, which makes them more easily seen in flight than smaller solid projectiles.

The reader will now understand how dissatisfied artillerymen were with their smooth-bore guns when they found themselves likely to be exposed to the fire of rifled small arms.

If, in lieu of a shot in the form of a sphere, we fire one in the form of a cylinder, after a range of a few yards the shot tumbles over in the air and revolves around the axis of least

moment; that is, one at right angles to the axis of the cylinder, if that axis be longer than the diameter of the cylinder. If, however, at the time the shot is impelled forward, that is receives a motion of translation in the direction of its axis, we can by any means give the cylinder a motion of revolution round that axis—the axis of least moment—we shall cause the cylinder to move head foremost; for as the body revolves round one of the principal axes of inertia, the body will be stable in its movement: and if any extraneous force should throw it out up to a certain limit, it will gradually return to it.

In artillery practice with elongated shot with some guns, the projectile at starting may be seen to “waddle,” that is, revolve on an axis at a slight angle to the axis of the projectile. As the projectile flies on, this irregular motion becomes less and less until the projectile gets steady; thus attaining the condition which school boys describe, in allusion to their spinning tops, as “going to sleep.”

But the flat end of a cylinder meets with great resistance from the air. If to the front end of the cylinder we attach a head, the vertical section of which shall be that of the water line of a ship, we can understand by analogy how much superior would be the power of that body, when set in motion, to cleave its way through the air. If, then, we form the front part of the projectile so that its vertical section shall be the shape of a lanceolate gothic window, a form called “ogival,” though the projectile may present the same cross-sectional area as did the cylinder, it will be less impeded by the medium through which it flies, than if it had the original flat head.

It is well to try and realize in a familiar way if possible, what this resistance of the air is like. If the reader will take a fan in his hand and wave it edge-wise, and then turn the fan a quarter round and wave it face-wise, he will realize, in the first place, how greatly the resistance depends on the area exposed to that resistance. Further, it little matters to our sensations whether there be a wind blowing in our faces at the rate of ten miles an hour while we are standing still; or whether we are carried smoothly through a perfectly still air at the same rate. In either case the pressure on our bodies would be about $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. per square foot. If the pace were increased to 100 miles per hour, that is to the force of a hurricane which throws down trees, &c., the pressure would be 49 lbs. per square foot. With these familiar instances we might leave it to the reader's imagination to conceive the pressure on an elongated projectile flying at the by no means unusual rate of 1,400 feet per second or 955 miles per hour. We will, however, give him a close approximation to the amount of that pressure. At the above rate it would be about 1,625 lbs. on the square foot, or

80lbs. upon the projectile of a gun of three inches in diameter. It must be borne in mind, however, that as the velocity decreases the pressure decreases in a very high ratio.

There is a further circumstance connected with the cylindrical or cylindro-ogival projectile of the highest importance. It is this: if a sphere and a cylinder, or cylindro-ogival projectile of the same diameter be fired out of a gun, supposing for the moment that we can keep the axis of the last two in the direction of motion, the cross-section of those three bodies—that is, the area exposed to the resistance of the atmosphere—will be in all three cases one and the same circle. Supposing the projectiles to have all the same initial velocity at the mouth of the gun; and that the cylinder and cylindro-ogival shot weigh three times as much as the spherical shot, the momentum*—the power of overcoming the resistance of the air—would be three times greater with the elongated than with the spherical shot. Or to put it another way, if the spherical and elongated shot differed in diameter, but were of the same weight, the power of overcoming the resistance of the air would be the same, if the initial velocities were alike; but the areas exposed to that resistance would vary as the squares of the radii of the cross-sections.† Suppose the diameters were four inches and three inches respectively, the areas exposed would be as four to two and one quarter; consequently the elongated shot would meet with nearly one-half less resistance from the air than the spherical shot would.

We can now see how desirable it is to fire elongated projectiles as compared with spherical; but the former involve not only a motion of translation but one of continuous revolution round the long axis. There lies the difficulty, and on conquering this difficulty there has been expended an incalculable amount of brain-work and money. But before going into this part of the subject, it is desirable to notice another point of difference between the spherical and elongated forms of projectile. With the spherical shot the instant the first powder-gas is generated the shot *rolls* forward: while the elongated projectile fired from a smooth-bore *slides* forward. The friction in the latter case is much greater than in the former. When, however, the projectile has not only to be set in sliding motion forward, but at the same time to be set in rotation in a rifled gun, the resistance to the force of the powder increases in an enormous ratio; consequently the strain on the gun is vastly augmented. It will be seen, then, that without increasing the thickness of the gun and consequently its weight out of all reason, it is impossible to fire the same relative charge—the

* Weight multiplied into velocity. squares of their radii.

† The areas of circles vary as the

ratio of the weight of powder to that of the shot—with elongated as with spherical projectiles.

The various methods of causing the revolution of an elongated projectile may be thus classified:—

1.—By varying the form of the projectile so as to obtain revolution by the resistance of the air, the gun being a smooth-bore.

2.—Rifled grooves (helical-channels) cut in the bore, into which fit projections on the projectile. This is the stud or rib system, the gun being a muzzle-loader.

3.—Rifled grooves and lead-coated projectiles, the gun being a breech-loader.

The first system, though extremely tempting to the novice, has never been successful though tried in a vast variety of forms. It is based on the same principle as a child's toy formed by a little paper whirligig stuck by a pin to the end of a stick.

This is a wind-mill on a small scale, only that in the latter case, the wind-mill stands still and the wind (air in motion) causes it to revolve. In the former case the revolution is obtained, when there is no wind, by the child urging his whirligig against the still air. Those who have had the misfortune to embark on the venture of causing a shot to revolve on this system are much to be consoled with. They undoubtedly do succeed in getting up a certain amount of revolution, but as the velocity of translation is reduced, so is that of revolution, since the latter is dependent on the former: the result is that even at moderate distances the shot turns heels-over-head. But on the other hand, encouraged by a partial success, the unfortunate would-be inventor is dragged forward to renewed trials by the simplicity of the system as regards the gun. No complications are to be found there at any rate, he thinks. No power of reasoning or detailed statements of previous failures can deter him. On he must go after his *ignis fatuus* until weariness of mind and emptiness of pocket bring him to a stand-still in a slough of despond.

The second and third systems, which are those which obtain in the rifled artillery of all nations, both involve rifling the bore of the gun.

Everyone is familiar with the common nut and screw, though certainly it is not every one who is familiar with their construction. Let us therefore endeavour to explain it, as the rifled gun and its projectile form respectively a nut and screw. Let us take a cylinder of the proportions of an ordinary desk ruler and measure its circumference. Then cut a right-angled triangle of paper whose base shall be equal to the circumference of the cylinder, and whose perpendicular is the length in which we wish the screw or helix to make one complete turn; this length is called

the "pitch" of the screw. If we now wrap this triangle round the cylinder so that the base shall accurately envelope the circumference of the cylinder, the perpendicular will be parallel to its axis; while the hypotenuse, or third and greatest side of the right-angled triangle, will trace the curve of the screw, making, of course, one full turn in the "pitch." The curved line, it will be easily understood, may be wrapped round the cylinder in the same direction as the motion of the hands of a clock, or in the reverse direction; the former is termed a "right-handed," the latter a "left handed" screw.

Suppose, now, that this cylinder were placed in a lathe and made to revolve once while a steel point is by some means made to traverse horizontally the distance we have above called the pitch; that steel point would obviously trace the same curve as that formed by the hypotenuse of our triangle. The screw traced on the outside of a cylinder is called the "male" screw.

To form the nut, we have only to substitute a tube, having its bore of the same size as the cylinder, and make it revolve in the same time as that cylinder; and to adjust the steel point so as to be capable of moving horizontally as before, but down the tube; we shall thus trace the companion or female screw of the nut. Or, again, if the tube remain fixed while the steel point is endowed with both the motions of translation and rotation in the same ratio as before, that is, that it shall traverse the length of the pitch while it makes one revolution, the point will trace the helical curve or screw. This last method is that adopted in rifling or cutting a screw inside the bores of guns.

We have now a male and female screw traced on the outside of a solid cylinder and on the inside of a hollow cylinder: but if one is to fit freely inside the other, the former must be somewhat less in diameter than the latter. Suppose it to be so: and instead of merely tracing the helical curve, let us cut a "thread" in both the male and female screws in the shape of the letter A with its head cut off at the cross bar or in any other suitable form. If the male thread be made somewhat less in width and height than the female so as to fit freely, the male can be screwed into the female screw.

We have thus a screw and nut with a single "thread," as it is termed. If the diameter of the cylinder and tube and the width of the thread admit of it, we may cut a second, third, or any convenient number of threads on the cylinder and in the tube. We should thus have a screw of two, three, or more threads. The screw of several threads is employed where great and sudden force is to be developed as in a coining press; for the pressure is distributed over a greater surface than with the single thread. The blades of a screw propeller of a steam ship are portions of separate threads. They get a better hold on the water than a single blade.

And here we must claim the reader's close attention for the action we are about to explain is somewhat difficult to understand. Suppose the male screw (right-handed) to be partially screwed into the female and let us fix our mind's eye at one part of the male thread; let us say, looking at the cylinder end on, at the point represented by the figure XII of the clock. At this point the thread runs forward and to the right: now let us change the position of our eye with reference to the tube and cylinder, and bring it directly above the point marked XII*; finally let us suppose the tube to be made of glass so that we could see what was going on inside and that the male thread is a very loose fit, the male thread standing equidistant from the sides of the female thread. If the tube be fixed and we push the cylinder, this act will bring one side of the male in contact with the corresponding side of the female thread; there will be a certain amount of friction between these two sides. But if we only push hard enough, we shall overcome that friction; and as the two form circular inclined planes in contact with each other, we shall cause the moveable one to slide on the other; and to slide, the cylinder must revolve. We shall therefore push the point marked XII through the various points marked I, II, III, &c., and so on. Thus our pushing the cylinder has not only the effect of thrusting it forward—the motion of translation—but of causing it to turn in a motion of rotation *dextrorsum*. But let us mark this: that it is the *left* hand side of the female thread which drives† the screw round to the *right*. If any reader finds any difficulty in realizing this, let him imagine himself to be walking down a path bound on either hand by a wall, and that this path and its bounding walls gradually curve round to the right. If he walks perfectly straight forward he will find himself impeded from following the straight direction by the wall on his left hand: it is that wall which diverts him to the right.

To return to the screw, instead of pushing, if we pull the cylinder, that is, reverse the motion of translation: the cylinder will come towards us revolving in the direction opposed to that of the hands of a clock, that is, *sinistrorsum*; the right flanks of the female screw thread will turn the cylinder to the left.

We are at length in a position to go back to the gun. In the actual manufacture of rifled guns, the bore is in the first instance a smooth cylinder; if it is a muzzle-loader and is to be rifled for projectiles on the stud system, a number of grooves—the

* If the reader will draw a figure shewing the male and female screws in plan with the sides of the male thread equidistant from those of the female, it will greatly assist his com-

prehension of what follows.

† This side of the screw in a right-handed thread is called the bearing side, and in guns "the driving side."

threads of the female right handed* screw—varying from three to nine in number according to the diameter or calibre of the gun, are cut from near the breech end of the bore to the muzzle.

This gun will fire a cylindro-ogival projectile of a length between two and three times its diameter. To fit the grooves it may have an equal number of male threads upon it, which are termed “ribs”; or portions of those ribs may be cut away leaving only two or three parts of each rib in the form of studs.

The reader will not be at a loss to understand that when the charge of powder, against which the projectile is rammed home, is lighted, the powder-gas impels the shot forward; while the “driving sides” of the grooves drive the studs and consequently the projectile round and thus the projectile is driven out of the gun in a state of rapid rotation. Thus the problem has been successfully solved on the second system.

On the third system, the gun is loaded from the breech. The projectile is lead-coated on its cylindrical portion; the lead coating being a perfectly smooth cylinder, without projections. The chamber which contains the projectile and charge is greater in diameter than the bore of the gun before it is rifled; indeed a little greater than the diameter of the bore measuring to the bottom of the grooves. The breech end of the gun being closed by a vent piece and binding screw, by a wedge or some similar device, the powder-gas impels the shot forward; the metal of the gun between each pair of grooves—termed “the lands”—comes in contact with the lead coating; and thus cuts out corresponding screw channels on the projectile; in short, forms the male screw on it; and as the rifling in the gun turns round like the hands of a clock, so does the projectile as it issues from the piece. The problem is thus solved on the third system.

Before leaving the smooth-bore altogether, we will institute a comparison between two guns firing the same weight of projectile and compare their effects in a ballistic point of view. We will take the ordinary field guns firing projectiles in each case of 9lbs. weight. The calibre† of the smooth-bore gun is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches and the length of its bore is 16 calibres. It weighs 10 cwts.

* There is a curious circumstance attendant upon firing an elongated projectile from a rifled or screwed gun. If the rifling has a right-handed twist, there will be a constant deviation to the right. This deviation is to a great extent neutralized by the sighting of the gun whereby when the eye looks direct on the object, the bore is directed slightly to the left. All the guns of the French

Navy are rifled with a left-handed twist, whereby the constant deviation is to the left. This unusual direction of rifling was apointed solely from the fact that at their practice ground at Gavres, the sea is on the right-hand of the batteries and thus the projectiles eventually come inland instead of going out to seaward.

† Diameter of the bore.

or about 124 projectiles. The powder charge is one-fourth the weight of its round shot or $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.

The rifled 9-pounder gun has a calibre of 3 inches and a length of bore of 21 calibres. It weighs 8 cwts., or nearly 100 projectiles. The common shell* weighs 9 lbs. The charge of the gun is one-fifth† of the weight of its projectile or $1\frac{1}{5}$ lbs.

Let the bore of the gun in each case be elevated at an angle of five degrees above the horizontal plane through the axis of the trunnions; that is one-eighteenth of a right angle or quadrant, and let the guns be fired after having been directed at the same object standing on the level plain on which the gun stands. The smooth-bore will have sent its round shot to a distance of about 1,400 yards after having followed in its flight a curved path through the air: the rifled gun will have thrown its projectile to a distance of about 2,100 yards, that is one-half further than the smooth-bore. At the first glance this seems very extraordinary: the projectiles are the same weight and the charge of the smooth-bore is to that of the rifled gun as 10:7. Further the charge of the rifled gun has not only to expel the projectile, but to twist it with enormous rapidity.‡ In fact the round shot leaves the bore with a velocity of something like 1,500 feet per second, and the elongated projectile with one of only 1,350 feet: but it will be remembered that the surfaces exposed to the resistance of the air are as the squares of radii of the projectiles; that is, in the case before us about 2:1. Add to this that the higher velocity is met by an increase of resistance in a very high ratio, and we shall have a satisfactory explanation of the fact of the elongated projectile ranging one-half further than the spherical.

But the rifled gun is not only superior to the smooth-bore in length of range, but also in regularity as to that length as well as in direction. The British 9-pounder gun firing with an elevation intended for a range of 1,400 yards gives the following results. If we fire, say 1,000 rounds, the probability is that 500 shot will be found to have struck the ground in a rectangle measuring 195 yards long by $22\frac{1}{2}$ yards wide: with the 9-pounder rifled gun firing at a mean range of 1,383 yards, the sides of the rectangle are

* The nature of this projectile will be described further on.

† The generality of foreign rifled field guns fire a relative charge of only one eighth.

‡ The initial velocity of the projectile of the 9-pounder gun is about 1,350 feet per second and the rifling, and consequently the projectile make one full turn in $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Dividing

1,350 by $7\frac{1}{2}$ we find that the projectile will thus make 180 turns per second, and a point on its surface will travel at the rate of 139 feet per second. A railway wheel of an express train going at 50 miles an hour or 73 feet per second, makes between 6 and 7 turns per second. The velocity of revolution at a point on the earth's equator is $152\frac{1}{2}$ feet per second.

63 yards long by 2 yards wide ; that is, the rifled gun is three times more accurate in length of range and eleven times in direction than the smooth bore-gun.

The rifling above described is what is termed "a uniform twist:" in other words in any given length, wherever that length be taken, the grooves make the same part of a revolution. But as the force of the powder is much greater when it is first flashed into gas than when the projectile has reached the muzzle ; when too the gas has expanded so as to fill the bore and doubtless has lost much of its original heat, it seems desirable if possible to let the motion of rotation be communicated gradually, thereby relieving the gun of a certain amount of strain. This suggests the idea of an increasing twist, or one which shall give little or no rotatory motion for a few inches and then by degrees increase the amount of twist until at the muzzle the grooves shall give the projectile the same velocity of rotation as those of the uniform twist.

In the paper triangle above mentioned, if for the straight line of the hypotenuse we substitute an arc of a circle or a portion of a parabola, curves whose form is easily found and traced out, and that this triangle be then wrapped round the cylinder, the curved edge will trace the curve of the groove of increasing twist. This form of groove is attended with this disadvantage, that as the tangent to the curve is at a constantly varying angle to any straight line parallel to the axis, it is impossible in a male screw like the projectile to give the studs such an angle as shall fit the female screw everywhere. In the lead-coated shell fresh metal is sheared away at every inch of advance of the projectile. In the studded shot the method adopted is to make the front stud smaller than the rear and to give them the screw form corresponding to the pitch at the muzzle. This is at the best a mere palliative as the projectile until it reaches the muzzle is only held by the rear studs: there results an irregularity of motion inside the bore which cannot be but injurious to some extent to both gun and projectile. But the relief of strain on the gun was thought to be so great, that all the heavier guns of the British service are rifled on this principle. The advantage of this system of rifling is highly problematical.

The twist in rifling is best expressed by stating the number of calibres in which the grooves make one turn. The uniform twist varies in different guns between 1 turn in 20 calibres to 1 turn in 40 calibres ; the projectile makes from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ a turn in the length of the bore rifled ; the increasing twist varies between 0 at the breech to 1 turn in 40 calibres at the muzzle and 1 turn in 100 calibres at the breech to 1 turn in 40 at the muzzle ; the projectile making in both cases half a turn in the length of the bore rifled.

Here it may be mentioned that with small-arms on the breech-loading system, it has quite lately been discovered that if the rifling of an ordinary barrel be bored out, leaving merely some 3 or 4 inches of the original grooving at the muzzle, the projectile receives adequate rotation with the great advantage of a comparatively flatter trajectory.* This appears due to a diminution of friction which consequently causes an increase of the muzzle velocity, as compared with a barrel rifled from end to end.

We have now put the reader in possession of, we hope, some clear ideas as to the part played by a rifled gun, confining ourselves to generalities. We will now proceed to describe the various projectiles it fires: they are—

- 1.—Common Shells.
- 2.—Shrapnel Shells.
- 3.—Case shot.
- 4.—Palliser Shot.
- 5.—Palliser Shells.

We have described the external form of a rifle projectile as a cylinder surmounted by an ogival head. This form is somewhat like a sugar-loaf; but many of the glass-shades used in India for the protection of the flame of a candle, where the mouth is *not* splayed out in the bell-form but straight edged, more closely approaches it.

In the *Common shell*, the projectile is hollow, the internal form closely following the external, excepting towards the "nose," where the metal is thickened to give it more strength at that point. In the "nose" is a taper hole with a screw tapped in it; the greatest diameter of this hole, termed the "fuze-hole," is a little over one inch. It communicates with the hollow of the shell. On the exterior of the shell when intended for a muzzle-loading gun, brass, copper, or zinc studs are firmly attached, corresponding to the rifled grooves of the gun; there are at least two rings of studs, sometimes three. When the shell is intended for a breech-leading gun the cylindrical portion of the projectile has a thin lead-coating. The shell is filled with powder and for safety a brass plug is temporarily screwed into the fuze hole. Furthermore the inside of the shell is lacquered, to prevent contact between the cast-iron and the powder, and consequently injury to the latter. The common shell can be exploded after being fired by the gun in one of two ways:—either by a time-fuze lighted as the shell leaves the gun and burning at a known rate per second of flight, so that the moment the fuze is burnt out the charge is ignited: or by a percussion fuze† which explodes the charge at

* The Trajectory is the curved path traced in imagination through the air by the centre of gravity of the projectile.

† A description of these fuzes will be found further on.

the moment the shell strikes the ground or meets with any obstacle. The common shell is chiefly used in firing at walls, earth works, an enemy's gun, or for setting fire to buildings, wooden ships, and the like.

The *Shrapnel shell*, called after its inventor General Shrapnel of the Royal Artillery, is a more complicated arrangement. Its vocation is chiefly manslaughter, being fired at troops in the open field, in boats or on boardship, or wherever an enemy can be seen. The "body" or cylindrical part of the shell is of cast-iron, open at one end and closed at the other. The ogival head is of sheet-iron with a brass fuze socket in its nose, the interior of which is the counter part of the fuze-hole of the common shell. The two together closely assimilate in form to that of the common shell, but the shrapnel is shorter in total length. In casting the body a powder-chamber is left at the bottom, of smaller diameter than the remainder of the body. Into this fits a tin-cup with a cover closing it all but a central hole about half an inch in diameter: this cup is filled with a very small charge of powder, intended at a certain moment to blow the head off the shell and open out the body; to facilitate this, the circular walls of the body have a number of longitudinal weakening grooves cast in it; the whole shell is thus made very weak in resisting an internal force. On the top of the cup lies a wrought-iron diaphragm, its edges resting on the ledge in the cast-iron formed by the change of diameter from the powder chamber to that of the body of the shell. Next, a tube is screwed into a central hole in the diaphragm, corresponding to that in the powder-cup. This tube is long enough to reach a little above the mouth of the body when it is *in situ*. Now a series of layers of hardened musket bullets are filled in around the tube until the body is nearly full; then melted resin is poured in, filling the interstices between the bullets and covering over the top layer. To prevent adherence of the resin to the sides of the shell, it is lined with brown paper before filling. On the top of the resin is placed a kamptulicon washer, to take up and communicate the pressure used in fastening on the head. Finally, inside the head is fitted a block of wood, so as to completely fill it save at the fuze-hole. The head is then pressed down on to the body, fitting to it as the lid of a wooden tooth-powder box does to its body. Held in this position steel wire screws are screwed through the sheet-iron of the head into the cast-iron of the body. The shell has studs or lead coating like the common shell. This projectile is best used with a time-fuze, that is, a fuze which can be made to ignite the powder charge after the lapse of a certain number of seconds. Supposing, then, that a shell moving with a velocity of 1,000 feet per second after a range 1,500 yards arrives

within 60 yards of a Battalion of Infantry in column—if any commander now-a-days could be found to be so rash as thus to expose his men—and that at this distance the projectile is five yards above the plain: further that at this moment the time-fuze ignites the charge in the powder-cup. The force of explosion suffices to blow the head off and to split open the body at the weakening grooves. The bullets continue to move forward, each animated with a velocity of 1,000 feet per second. But these bullets at the moment of bursting are being whirled round at a great speed: they radiate out like the flocks on the head of a twisted mop.* It is found that the cone of dispersion is one whose base is about one-third its height, the apex being at the bursting point. We can conceive, then, the bullets forming the lower side of the cone may easily strike the front company of the battalion, while those of the upper side will be carried further forward and strike the rear company. The effects of this projectile, when the fuze is accurately timed, are truly awful: it is in one sense fortunate that it is a matter of the greatest difficulty to time the fuze so as to burst exactly as above described. Burst with a percussion fuze by striking the ground in front of an enemy the effects are not nearly so good, as many of the bullets never rise from the ground at all.

The *Cuse shot* is merely a tin cylindrical canister filled with hardened musket bullets for field service or with sand shot—cast-iron shot weighing from two to four oz.—for large guns, the interstices being filled with a mixture of sand and clay to prevent the balls from knocking about. This projectile is burst inside the gun, and its contents are scattered over a range of from 50 to 400 yards. For good effect the ground should be hard and even; a ploughed field or one planted with almost any crop nearly completely annihilates its effect, since no ball ever rises once it falls. Though very effective at close ranges it certainly is the least alarming projectile to face: the gun itself seems to the person fired at to have in some way missed fire and the ground in front to be knocked up into little puffs of dust, looking like a flock of small birds taking flight. But a round at really close quarters, say within 50 yards, is most formidable: Gassendi an old French Artillery Officer and author, writes of case shot fire:—

“Les derniers coups sont les plus décisifs, ils feront votre salut peut-être, mais votre gloire sûrement.”

Pulliser Shot and Shell are intended for penetrating the slabs of iron forming the cuirass of iron-clad ships or of some modern iron-clad forts. The former is solid save a hollow central core of

* A shrapnel shell burst within a yard or two of a wooden target leaves on it an annulus of bullet marks.

one or two inches in diameter ; this is left in the shot as the castings are thereby caused to be more sound. The hole at the base of the shot is plugged up. The shell on the other hand is hollow, its internal following its external form, leaving the walls of the shell very thick, and the metal about the nose and base of still greater thickness. There is no fuze-hole. The powder charge is filled in from a hole in the base eventually closed by a screw plug. The charge explodes on the shell striking an iron plate in consequence of the enormous heat developed by the blow.

Both the shot and shell have the ogival part "chilled" in casting : that is, the shell-mould, in lieu of being of sand as in the case of common shells, at its apex is formed in a mass of very thick cast-iron, the inside of which is lamp-blackened. The nature of molten iron used is of vital importance ; all iron would "chill ;" that is, the thick iron mould robs the molten cast-iron very quickly of its heat and thus it becomes as hard as steel ; but it is required not only to be hard, but extremely tough. By proper mixtures of certain brands of iron both ends are obtained. There is but little difference in penetrative power of the shot and shell of the same gun. In round figures we may say that a 10-inch gun can send its projectile through a 10-inch wrought iron plate and so on all through the series of plate breakers from the 7-inch gun of 7 tons up to the 12-inch of 35 tons or "Woolwich Infant."

To bring this cursory account of rifled artillery to an end, we will describe the Time and Percussion Fuzes, which enable us to burst the shell after the lapse of a certain time or after arriving at a certain place. The descriptions will, it is feared, be difficult to comprehend without illustrations.

In a muzzle-loading gun we have shown above that there exists an empty "lune" or air-space between the upper surface of the projectile and the bore, when the gun is loaded : and that a stream of burning gas escapes over the projectile and thus envelops the nose of the projectile. If, then, we close the fuze-hole so as to be gas-tight by a plug of wood, having a column of slowly burning composition driven or pressed hard into a channel through the plug, it is clear that when that composition is burnt out its fire will at last reach the powder charge and explode it. This plug would then be a "fuze." But to drive or press this composition into the fuze, it is convenient to leave the bottom of the plug or fuze solid, that is, not bored. The fuze, then is a plug of wood about four inches long in the form of a truncated cone, whose least diameter is about nine-tenths of an inch, and whose greatest is one and one-third inch. The composition channel is about a quarter of an inch in diameter, and is not bored down the axis but a little eccentric. This composition is of two sorts :

with one the column burns at the rate of one inch in five seconds for short ranges ; and with the other, one inch in nine seconds for long ranges. Two powder channels are bored from the bottom of the fuze parallel to its side reaching up as high as the top of the composition column, that is within about one inch of the top of the fuze. These powder channels are likewise excentric, but on the opposite side of the centre. Between the powder and composition channels then there are thin divisions of wood. To enable us to time the fuze, that is, to cause it to burn out in any time we please, nine "side holes" are bored into each of the powder channels. In the five second fuze the topmost side hole of one channel being at such a distance from the top of the composition as will burn out in one second, the next hole at a distance which will burn out in two seconds and so on. In the other powder channel the top hole corresponds to one half-second, the next to two half-seconds and so on. Thus the holes correspond to spaces of time corresponding to all times of flight from one half second to every successive half second in the whole length of the column which corresponds to five seconds.

In the nine second fuze there are nine holes into each powder channel corresponding to 18 half-seconds.

The powder channels and side holes are filled with fine powder, and their orifices closed with putty : the whole fuze is then covered with paper, and then painted and varnished. The priming is composed of a few strands of quickmatch* wrapped round the outside of the head of the fuze, passing in through a hole in the side of the head and fastened to a copper-pin in a brass screw plug which closes the composition column hole at the top. If we wish the fuze then to burn out after the lapse of three and a half seconds, we enter a gimlet at the point marked seven and bore through the powder into the powder-channel, then through the thin partition of wood into the composition column. In three and half seconds after the fuze has been lighted by the flash of the powder in the gun, the composition will have burnt down until it meets the gimlet hole, the fire will then pass through it until it meets and sets fire to the powder in the powder channel : this exploding, fires the charge in the shell. In both fuzes the side hole corresponding to the extreme duration of burning of the fuze composition, unlike the other side holes, is bored through into the composition column : so that if the fuze be fixed into the shell without being timed, the shell will explode after the lapse of five and nine seconds respectively. This fuze is termed *Boxer's Time Fuze* ; and it is only applicable to muzzle-

* Quickmatch is composed of cotton wick steeped in gum water and then dredged with "mealed" powder, that is, powder reduced to an impalpable grain.

loading guns, since in the breech-loading guns there is no escape of gas past the projectile. Foreign breech-loading artillery with some exceptions have no time fuzes.

The *Percussion Fuze* is composed of (1) the body, a brass hollow cylinder $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in depth with an exterior shoulder, screwing into the nose of the shell; inside of this fits (2) a guard or hollow brass cylinder open at both ends, the hollow being of two diameters, thus forming a shoulder midway: next (3) a lead-pellet, a hollow cylinder with four lugs or studs outside, two of which rest on the end of the guard: in the front of the lead pellet is a detonator somewhat like a very shallow percussion cap; internally the pellet is filled with gunpowder dried from a pasty condition. The body is closed by the bottom (4) screwed in. A hole in the bottom is filled with powderpaste; an axial hole being left in the paste of both pellet and bottom. The central hole in the bottom is closed by a thin brass disc. If by any means the two lead lugs of the pellet which secure it in position are sheared off, a second pair of lugs at right angles to the former come into play, and may prevent the pellet from being driven forward. If, however, the first pair having been sheared the momentum* of the leaden pellet is sufficient to shear the second pair of lugs, the percussion cap would come in contact with a needle which protrudes internally from the centre of the body. The flash passes into the interior of the pellet and blows out the disc which closes the bottom and thus fires the charge of the shell. It is, however, desirable that these lugs be not sheared off by accident. To prevent this a safety pin (5) is passed through the body and guard and secured in its position by a wire ring passing through the eye of the safety pin and lying in a recess in the upper part of the body. If the lugs were sheared the pellet would come in contact with the safety pin and the detonator could not touch the point of the needle. The shell may thus be "fuzed" before going into action and be perfectly safe from explosion by accident. When the shell is in the bore of the gun at the muzzle, the ring is taken out of the recess and the safety pin drawn out. But the hole left by this pin would allow the gas of the powder charge to pass through and thus explode the shell. To meet this danger, a cylindrical lead plug (6) is let in from the top of the body being supported by the pin and kept from falling out of the body by a brass-disc. When the pin is withdrawn this lead plug falls down and closes the safety-pin hole.

The action of this fuze is simple, whatever may be thought of its description. When the shell moving at say 1000 feet per second meets with a check, either from a solid obstacle or from a "graze" on the ground, the momentum of the

* Weight multiplied into velocity.

lead-pellet suffices successively to shear the two pairs of lugs ; just as a man sitting with his face to the engine in a railway carriage, when it comes into collision with any obstacle, is shot forward into the arms of the person opposite, so the detonator comes in in contact with the steel needle and the shell explodes.

We have thus given the general reader some succinct ideas on rifled artillery, and we have done so under the great disadvantage of being unable to assist him in understanding our explanations by drawings. We will endeavour in a future number to show how the principles above enunciated have been applied in modern rifled artillery.

HENRY H. MAXWELL,

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ART. VII.—MADRAS STATESMANSHIP.

LITTLE more than two years have gone by since the Government of Madras adopted, after mature discussion in the Legislative Council, a measure which promised to quicken the whole administration of the Southern Presidency.

The Local Funds Act at once increased the material resources at command ; and re-organised the agencies that applied those resources. District councils composed of independent equally with official members were to give united advice and exercise joint control over the public works, the education, and the sanitation of the country. Funds also were to be provided, where necessary, by cesses or taxes levied on land and houses and professions. Education especially was to be placed within the reach of the masses ; elementary instruction in village schools being provided for by a system of which the central principle was to group as much population as possible around each school, while at the same time no rate-payer was to be called upon to contribute to a school which was not within reasonable distance of his dwelling.

We drew attention in the pages of this *Review*, just two years ago, to the scheme as it then promised to work ; and we reviewed recently the actual working during 1871-72, as it was illustrated in the reports of the Director of Public Instruction for Madras.

Hardly, however, had the new machinery been set up, when other counsels prevailed ; and orders were issued that the whole system was to be abandoned, the machinery thrown out of gear, and the provincial administration to revert to the old methods, working in the old, slow, fitful, and inefficient manner. The wisdom of 1871 has become the folly of 1873. The tide which swelled up to the flood two years ago, has now ebbed back into the deadest stagnation ; and Madras has received orders from her Governor and her Councillors that she had indeed been awakened too soon, and may fall off safely to her slumber again till—well, till Heaven helps her.

It is, we acknowledge, a mistake to mix up public questions with personal considerations ; but it is impossible to forget that Governments are but men, that acts of Government express the opinions of men in power ; “ Government,” said Mill, “ consists of acts done by human beings.” By what process then, not of reason—that will not help us—but of conjecture, are we to explain this fickleness of opinion by which the white of to-day becomes black to-morrow ? The Madras Government has, indeed, changed slightly in its *personnel* during these two years. But the men in authority now had most of them some share in the discussions

that preceded and in the expressions that approved the Local Funds Act. And what sort of minds are these that deliberately adopt a policy, for which at least they then had excellent reasons to offer : yet now in exactly the same circumstances, without even giving a reason for the change, abandon that policy utterly, as if it were mere folly ! The light falls on the same objects as before, when their eyes saw clearly the way before them. Why are they now dazzled by the light ; and why do they shrink back into the darkness ?

There is something positively painful in the abjectness of spirit with which the Government has published its changed policy. " It is true," says the order, " that all officers were instructed to " collect information on educational subjects ; to prepare schemes " for the spread of elementary education and the founding of " village schools. We had some intentions of this sort some " time ago : but that is all changed now. We are older and " wiser men ; and after that fitful fever of energy shall sleep " well. Tear up your schemes, our officers ; abandon your pro- " jects of improvement. You shall keep your machines, but they " are not for use ; and as we shall not allow them to be set a " working, they can do no harm." And so Madras has gone to sleep again ; not perhaps unwillingly, since her habit has long been torpid. And hardly a voice has been raised to protest that the good work that was done two years ago by men of ability and foresight, should not lightly be undone by their less able or more timid successors.

It is, we know, useless to try to awake her now. She must sleep out her sleep, until she reaches more stirring times or gains more active masters. But it may be useful, and it *must* be right, to say that some regret the change ; that the abandonment of the only progressive measure that Madras has produced for thirty years gives real pain to those who have the true progress of this miserable country at heart.

Now the excessive weakness of this reactionary order lies in its almost brutal bluntness. The tree that wanted but tender pruning is cut down to the very ground ; and it will be only with a struggle that hereafter some life may show itself in the poor trunk that is left. For the only ostensible reason even alleged by the Government for the total destruction of all the essential features of the Local Funds Act lies in the excessive haste and rashness with which the educational portion of the scheme was being developed. It is useless now to point out that this unwise haste was never checked, but rather stimulated by those who ought to have known best how to control it ; that is, by the officers of the Educational Department ; who either threw themselves headlong into the school-founding mania, or else abstained wholly from assuming their due

share in the guidance and control of the new scheme of elementary instruction. If the reform was being carried too far and too fast, what difficulty was there in wisely moderating the pace? But instead of restraining over-eager officers, the Government, like a timid horseman afraid to rein in his horse whose paces frighten him, dismounts at once in terror, and locks the horse up in the stable, rather than train it into docility.

It matters not whether the dangers apprehended were financial or administrative, the same restraint could have been applied on each side; and though we have not leisure here to examine the statistics of the question, it is enough to repeat the statement made in our last article, and with which all our experience agrees, that the burden imposed by the house-tax would, when distributed individually, prove so light as to be almost imperceptible. The Government has never ventured to appeal to figures in support of the view, upon which this reaction is based, that the house-tax would be an intolerable and unpopular burden. It is easy to whine about oppressive taxation, and to say that the country is not ripe for education. It is not so easy, and has at least never been attempted, to prove in black and white what the demand for education is, and how much the people are willing to pay for it. As for ripeness, what is that argument worth? The country, as India, a poor and half civilised country—is ripe for nothing, but starvation and lawlessness and ignorance. As an English province, however, it is ripe for much: for a measure of civilisation and knowledge; for law-abiding manners, and at no distant date for material prosperity and even wealth. If English statesmanship is to wait until it sees the fruit ripening, what merit will there be in that tending and culture? Our only aim can be wisely to force the plant into bud and blossom and fruit earlier than it could ripen in the open sun.

If the financial reasons for this recreant statesmanship be unsubstantial, what other reasons can be offered in its excuse? That elementary education is a real want, a crying need of Southern India, can surely not be denied. While results already obtained prove to demonstration that real progress has of late been made in the spread of simple knowledge among the rural populations, want of success could not be alleged as a ground for relaxed exertion. Every year in the life of the Educational Department has proved more conclusively that valuable results follow immediately on improved organisation and increased effort in this field. It is therefore of malice prepense, and with a full knowledge of what they are doing, that these Madras statesmen draw back from the path of elementary education. True, the cause is not an attractive one; there are no present rewards of enthusiastic meetings, and platform addresses, and sweet words

of counsel to young graduates ; no prospective statues, nor even Stars of India. Primary education deals only with the lower classes ; the poor ignorant clowns, who, even if you refuse them light, will not complain of their darkness ; and who are indeed " not ripe " for education. So they are to be left as they are—God help them !—and to civilise themselves as they best can.

Let it not be said that the progressive policy is still open to an active officer who discerns the people's wants and tries to supply them. It is not so. The whole scheme of progress has been discredited by this chilling order ; the tide has been turned and is steadily ebbing down. The avowed policy of the Government has been declared to discourage progress and to counsel inaction. In the future nothing but the most bold avowal of the contrary can set the car of the State on the forward move again. The Noes have it ; and the whole question must be again debated and decided before the Ayes can win a victory. And the mischief already done is incalculable. Who in the future will believe that a Madras Government can really progress ? For two years the whole Presidency has been astir. Nobody could doubt the advantage that arose from the quickening of official pulses, and the admission of new blood and life into the administration. The skeleton indeed remains, and we are told to keep and cherish it. But ' can those dry bones live ' ?

Local Fund Boards are told to work away, but it is making bricks without straw ; nay, the very clay is denied them. They were founded to control public works, and they are told not to trouble themselves about the contracts for, nor the execution of, those works ! They were founded to spread elementary education, and they are told that there is hardly any money for village schools. The inevitable effect must be to stagnate, if not to diminish the flow of progress in education. It required a strong declaration from the local Government to obtain any improvement at all in this matter. The cause of education is not a popular cause. It is unfashionable, even vulgar ; and not only that, but there are no doubt difficulties of exceptional power in this country, arising out of the utter apathy of the mass of the lower classes, and the lukewarm zeal of the higher classes in the spread of elementary education.

Having only recently obtained any education worthy of the name for themselves, the higher classes are by no means anxious to throw open the paths of privilege and power by the general diffusion of knowledge. It therefore required the whole strength of official influence, and the free use of public money to start elementary education fairly in the race. But now the scale of primary education must kick the brain ; for Government favour has been thrown into the other side of the balance ; and every

officer who ventures to propose a village school, and to spread primary education in his district, knows that he is doing an act which is far more likely to win him the censure than the thanks of Government.

It must be so. Half measures are in such a case impossible ; and simple impartiality a pretence. Either education is to be extended or it is not ; if it is, money must be supplied and agencies organised. And the last official utterance is—"we can promise you no money, and we will have none of your schemes."

We have now said our say ; sadly but soberly. Anger would be misdirected against authorities so high ; and argument, we fear, is useless with those who never employ it. Popular ignorance too will rather applaud than condemn this recreant policy. The *quidnuncs* of the Madras Press, have already clapped their hands on their purses, and thanked heaven that they are freed from the fear of taxation. We see no remedy ; we have almost ceased to hope for one ; but to be silent would be to accept complicity in the folly and cowardice of the latest development of Madras statesmanship.

ART. VIII.—MILITARY NOTIONS. *

- 1.—*Proceedings of the United Service Institution of India*, May 1873.
- 2.—*Cavalry at the Camp*. By Captain Osmond Barues.
- 3.—*My Diary at the Punjab Camp of Exercise, 1872-73*. By BEECHWOOD.

THERE are indications in recent military literature, that in India as well as at home we are beginning to outgrow the age of Prussian translations and entering upon the era of original notions, if we have not yet quite attained the full stature of original ideas. If I, *longo intervallo*, try to follow in the footsteps of critics at home as an advocate of progress and an opponent of retrogression under whatever disguise, and attempt to distinguish true notions from false, it is because I have something to say which Captain Adam a "true reformer" has not said; and others I know, more capable perhaps than I, of grappling with the subject have not the requisite leisure.

Before reviewing the papers of the United Service Institution it may not be out of place to discuss briefly what are the proper functions of such societies. At the last anniversary meeting of the English Institution, Sir William Codrington, who as an old guardsman and staunch defender of the line formation, in the pretty hot fights there, cannot be accused of being too little conservative, made the following admirable remarks:—

"There can be no doubt that there are many questions which are, to use a common term 'ventilated' and discussed in a society of this sort, that cannot well be ventilated and discussed by a Government which would naturally be loath to give an opinion on subjects which we are free enough to give an opinion upon in this institution. Therefore it is that this institution is one of great value and that it is appreciated."

In this matter of military publications, not long ago we had a manifesto from their head, which shews the entire liberality of the Prussian General Staff. Von Moltke has had occasion to inform the world how far certain publications are official and how far not, and this is in effect what he says. He speaks with the entire openness, and a touch of the scorn, of strength:—"To persons desirous of indulging in military composition we have lately given every reasonable facility of access to official documents. All we have asked in return is that the facts shall not be distorted; but although so far we have been the censors of certain recent military works we are

censors of the facts, not suppressors of opinion ; and as for the views derived and expressed, take them for what they are worth. If ever we have erred we dare confess it, and you the public are welcome also to sit with larger faith than ours at the feet of the Gamaliel should he turn out one." Surely these are principles that are worthy of imitation ; a fearless publication of facts, however unpleasant,—and what have we so unpleasant to confess as the St. Privat massacre ?—and a hearing for all sensible deductions from these facts, openly admitted.

I do not think that our Indian officials, either as officials or as members of Council of the U. S. I. of India, have quite come up to the above standards. Several papers which have been offered for publication in its journal, and have been rejected, have come under my notice ; and as I am not the author of any one of them, I may express my humble opinion, after a careful perusal, that there are at present in existence rejected addresses, having a present and practical interest, by the suppression of which the Indian military world has sustained a loss greater than would have been inflicted on it by the omission to print the whole of the number which I am about to review—and I say this with a full appreciation of its unusually high quality. I have been sorely puzzled in reading them to find where, in papers of undoubted ability and full of useful suggestions, lies the sentence which displayed the cloven hoof and caused their rejection, and I have at last pitched upon some fault-finding with a small detail of camp or expedition, whose only sting lies in its truth. Our affairs lately have not been so ill-conducted or so wanting in general success as to justify this dread, in minor matters, of encountering criticism, both gentle and just.

The suppression of any really good papers in India is much to be regretted, because, from inevitable causes, not likely to be soon removed, the United Service Institution of India must ever be a weakly plant. Men who have written a technical article of a really high class will prefer to send it to the English journal. The drain of talent caused by the periodicals and the Press, which even in England brought the Institution daily into the hands of second-rate men, and compelled the introduction of paid lectures, will, in a lesser degree, but still perceptibly, affect the available talent in this country. When, in addition to all this, contributors are warned that they must not write anonymously—an entirely useless proviso when there is nothing personal in the article—a proviso which some will, when they grow wiser and reperuse their articles, possibly themselves regret—that they must never allow themselves to forget, as a recent notice has told them, they are supposed to be speaking at a public meeting and must moderate their expressions accordingly—it is not surprising that the printing

press of the Institution is employed in giving to the world chiefly the contributions of members of council, the diploma papers of officers of departments, with here and there an old story retold or a discussion of some very visionary future.

The first paper, that of Colonel Newall, contains much interesting material, and displays considerable brilliancy of imagination, but enunciates military views which I do not believe to be sound, and with which I cannot agree. Military villages, which Colonel Newall recommends us to establish on our frontier, are feudal and barbarous institutions unsuited to the times—unsuited to the non-military constitution of our Indian Government, and to the whole policy of law which we have adopted. Occasions will, of course, arise in which able politicals on the frontier will make use of one tribe to get at another, and we may subsidise with advantage States which, though barbarous, have some semblance of stability and regular government; but the time has gone by for England to defend its frontier by buying Waziris or hiring red Indians. I can conceive nothing more likely to betray us into rapid collision with our neighbours than becoming godfather to 500 little Khivas, and making ourselves responsible for the crimes of an organised vendetta conducted by petty frontier village robbers. Again, I think Colonel Newall greatly exaggerates the value of the Indus as a base. A formidable obstacle it is no doubt, but it cannot in these days of enormous war material and of railways be looked on as a first-class line of communication. Colonel Newall uses, in a rather bewildering manner—which I confess I cannot always grasp—a number of military terms, such as the pivot, base, inner radius. I dare say I am slow of apprehension, but when he calls Pesháwar the pivot of our trans-Indus position and the key of the Indus Doábs, I understand what he means sufficiently to demur. If the whole of the five rivers joined at one point and there stood an Indian Mayence, he could hardly speak more strongly. Does Colonel Newall really believe that Pesháwar is the one important point across the river from Karáchi to the Khaibar, or that it is of greater value than Attock, Láhor, Múltán, or half a dozen other river passages and places? Again, Colonel Newall speaks of the saliency of Pesháwar as giving it great flanking powers. Of course, we all know that the more salient a bastion is the more annoying it is to besiegers, but also the more difficult to defend. Moreover, it is dangerous to argue carelessly by comparison of things which are like only in appearance. Pesháwar totally differs from an advanced work of a great fortress, in this, that a great fortress has many bridges which do not depend on the seasons, and that its fire commands the advanced works. Pesháwar is many miles beyond a river without permanent bridges, and far out of the reach of fire support. In fact, I think

Colonel Newall greatly exaggerates the value of our trans-Indus position.

If we do not meet the enemy before he reaches that narrow strip we hold beyond the Indus—and many years must elapse before we have to solve the problem under these conditions—there is nothing in the material resources or military advantages of the Dehrajat alone to justify us in fighting a decisive battle on the wrong side of such a river as the Indus, save very close to a bridge head, securing our retreat. Let us make of Jacobabad and Pesháwar Phalsbourgs and Königsteins—sources of delay and possible annoyance to a victorious, of grave danger to a retreating, army, without causing serious drain upon our main resources; but let us not spend enormous sums of money in turning them into great intrenchments, tempting us to linger in the presence of superior numbers, beyond our best obstacle and ditch—a large intrenched camp at Cherat would be the worst kind of Metz we could possibly invent for ourselves. When a great contest is waged for empire, with anything like our present frontiers, our railways will be completed, and Karáchi, Haiderábád, Sukhar, Bháwalpur—if the railway crosses there—Múltán and the passages of the rivers from Attock to Láhor, with the two great railways, will be the lines, pivots, keys, or whatever we please to call them—and North-Eastern India and the sea our great bases. The loss of Jacobabad and Pesháwar, or any places beyond the Indus, will not, except politically—and the political situation of that future we can hardly guess—play a leading part in the great military struggle for the Panjáb and the Indus.

But I am carried away by the author I am discussing into his world of dreams; the large question of a further advance as far as Quetta and Kábul or even Herát, instead of a withdrawal to the Indus, I do not enter upon. It is not necessary to adopt either alternative if we are not tempted to transform a fair outpost frontier into a bad main line of defence; but at the same time I do not quite sympathise with the cry “no retreat” of Colonel Newall, and his dread of the consequences; nor do I implicitly believe in the want of appreciation of strength without swagger, with which natives are always credited. I have observed that a lesson administered to the most eager member of a pursuing crowd, who mistake a deliberate retreat for a panic flight, has a most sobering effect on the remainder. If it suited us to retire beyond the Indus we should, if our passages were well selected, very soon teach anybody who presumed, to moderate their enthusiasm, by catching them in the open between the Indus and the hills, like rabbits between corn and furze. I entirely agree with the writer in his estimate of the Bholau Pass. At present the northern routes seem the more nearly

threatening, for it is a fact which people appear to forget, that Samarkhand is twice as near us as Khiva, and three times as near as Asterabad; but there can be little doubt that an army which succeeded in mastering, say, the passage and railway at Sukhar, and then mastering Múltán, turned southward along the railway and between the river and desert, bribing hard all the while in Haidarábád and Rájputána, would place matters in India in a very unpleasant position, and check Bombay speculation very considerably. But I do not hold with Colonel Newall in his estimate of the flanking powers of Kashmír. General Bright, by a few sensible remarks, compelled Colonel Newall to excuse and modify opinions he had expressed. When Colonel Newall says that a flank attack could be repeated in Doáb after Doáb, he cannot have fully considered that, whatever the season, such a large army as would probably invade the Panjáb would succeed, if it succeeded at all, in crossing the rivers in the plains and closing passes beyond any point that the army hovering on the flank could reach, by bad roads through the hills, and crossing the rivers à la Blondin higher up. The hill stations would, of course, try to hold their own for a time in a partisan warfare. A few Ghúrká regiments and a mulo battery or two might do good service in causing annoyance and harassing the communications where the Pesháwar-Ludiána road touches the hills; but a very few miles of the plains would find the limit of footmen and mules—for the idea of cavalry sweeping down from Kashmír is one which excites a smile. Or in some future time when Kashmír is an Anglicised sanitarium, when Gulmurg is synonymous with Goodwood, when there is a Kashmír valley railway, with turnpike roads or a Fell tramway to Abbotabad and Marri, Kashmír may play its part in a really serious diversion. But with a political situation, and communications in a state at all approaching what they are at present, it would be a grave error to commit any considerable army to the dangerous and useless duty of wandering among the Kashmír passes between a possibly hostile native State and a large invading army, when it might be playing a great part on the ten banks of the five rivers, or before Láhor or Múltán, with railways and friends to fall back upon.

I have lingered too long over visionary plans for the defence of India; but the paper before me, whatever its practical value, is certainly suggestive and stimulating, and I am glad to have the opportunity of concluding my notice by stating what I think to be our true military policy. Until native princes have received English education, and are as completely alienated from their old ideas as Dhulíp Singh; when they shew their good sense and total loss of patriotism, by living in England, or until Indian Rájás marry the daughters of English noblemen, and

English civilians and soldiers ally themselves with old native families—a time we have not quite reached, it is manifest that we can have no true friends, no reliable party in any native State; all sentiment, affection, love of country, religion, are against us, and only the basest self-interest in our favour.

Why, then, should we strengthen the military power of our feudatories? Bid even native princes of the Resident Schoolmaster, and make them independent, and they are still accessible to the attractions of money, increase of territory, and even the delusive hopes they see in change. And even when we secure native princes, we do not always secure their subjects. This is especially true of Kashmir. A low diet is best for semi-independent States; enough troops to maintain order or capture a Kuka, but not enough to admit of enterprise in directions quite uncertain. The reminiscences of the loyalty of Kashmir princes and Gwálíár soldiers are not encouraging. In the expenditure of money, when we have it to spare for military purposes, we should always have two great objects in view—the near one, the consolidation of our power within India; the remote, not very remote now perhaps, the preparation for future defence from invasion. There are many works which fulfil both these objects, such as the improvement of railway communication all over India, but especially those of the Láhore, Delhi, Karáchi triangle; the gradual establishment of strong places all over India at points of strategic importance, but especially those on the line of the Jhelam and lower Indus; the establishment of forts defensible by small detachments for the protection of our hill stations and to close for a time our hill roads, but especially those of Abbotabad and Marri. But I think that works of internal value should have at present long precedence over those of pure defence from external danger; and I believe that among the things least conducive to either object are intrenched camps beyond the Indus, and armies in Kashmir until it is our own. Although we unfortunately cannot get the loan of Prince Bismarck to take Kashmir for us, right or wrong, we can assist Persia with money; and, when we have an opportunity, use pressure to make her a naval and commercial power on the Caspian. Timber she has in plenty, on its southern coast. We can consolidate Afghánistán and Yarkand, and encourage them at all times to smoke out the hornets' nests of petty tribes on our frontiers and their own. And if we do all these things, the invasion of India is pushed into a distance so remote that we shall have no Emperor of Russia to fear, but rather the Socialist Propaganda of the Panslavonic Republic, the elements of which are even now not wanting in Imperial Russia.

Captain Creagh's article on Range Finders is the product of considerable labour combined with powers of accurate analysis;

it is a very interesting and satisfactory paper, but of too technical a character for lengthy discussion in aught but the engineering journal whose articles it abstracts; and, like them, it deserves to be read in full. A few points I may, however, touch on. Captain Creagh is no doubt right in his low estimate of the human power of judging distances at long ranges. Where, then, are we to find a substitute? It must either be a range finder or selection by trial shots. The list of difficulties and desiderata so exhaustively discussed by Captain Creagh is not favourable to our hope of discovering perfect range finders; and did they not possess the advantage of silence, we should be disposed to think the system of trial shots the best, I think, for use in the field. An instrument, which would give an accuracy within the limit of half the long axis of the spread of a shell's fragments, would answer all practical purposes. In prepared positions where there is plenty of time, and in sieges possibly, the range finder will exercise its vocation with success; but for horse artillery I believe trial shots, aided by a powerful telescope on a tripod, will be found more rapid and practical in the end. We must take the chance of the enemy moving off.

Major Norman writes good English, which, totally apart from his subject, it is a pleasure to peruse. It appears to me he is rather inconsistent in saying he disapproves of European non-commissioned officers in Native Regiments when his whole essay is written in their praise. In the Cavalry, especially in these days of numerous detached small outposts, the number of officers is totally insufficient, and detachment commanders, capable of speaking and writing reports in English, are absolutely necessary.

Colonel Osborne has, I think, hit upon the right principle for pankhá-pulling, but in the instances quoted of the successful employment of condensed air, although the distance to which the power was transmitted was great, it does not appear that there was a great consumption of motive power in the escape of air such as would occur in the case of several hundred pankhás being pulled, each with its separate jerk. This will probably be the difficulty to encounter, and may necessitate all the pankhas in a bungalow being pulled by one subsidiary engine, in which case there will be a want of the liveliness of the thin rope and light hand, but certainly the drowsy element will be removed. The suggestion that the expanding air, by making large quantities of heat latent, will tend to cool the hungalows, is ingenious; but then there must be enough of it. Possibly as one fluid is much the same as another, and both equally clean, the piping may be made useful in the transmission of water and thus decrease the expense of that item during six months of the year.

Captain Colquhoun's paper contains one of those extraordinary "notions" which make their home in young periodicals; although

it shows a conscientious mastery of his subject in all its details. Does he seriously recommend the substitution of surface lines of rail for permanent bridges and embankments? There is at this moment a bridge and an engine buried beneath a river's sand; where would his line be after the flood, and meanwhile how is the traffic to be kept up?

I have put off the discussion of General Thesiger's and Captain Adam's papers to the end, as they appear on the surface to represent two antagonistic theories; but however desirous of doing justice to the subject, I shall be compelled in the one case to limit myself to the removal of one or two fallacies, and in the other to a brief expression of agreement with the principles expressed. To review each paper point by point would result in my writing an essay—a drill-book. Everybody, I suppose, has begun a drill book longer than either of the papers themselves.

I confess I am thoroughly disappointed in General Thesiger's paper. Let me not be misunderstood. I am disappointed because I looked forward to the paper being really what it threatened to be—an able defence of the old system in its integrity, which would cost the new school a tough brain fight to overcome, and it is neither more nor less than an appropriation of nearly all that is good in the modern system, with some excellent advice against abandoning all that is good in the old. The conservative paper of General Thesiger is almost as radical in reality as the paper of Captain Adam, which tells us that the working classes are republicans, and must be argued with, not ordered; so that I am reminded of the story of the divine, who, after a fierce argument on a religious subject, informed his adversary that he despaired of convincing him, but that his sentiments were completely expressed in a certain pamphlet, which the other had written. But though General Thesiger, to my mind, surrenders almost all the important points, he uses certain arguments which are assuredly fallacious.

General Thesiger appears to think that the advocates of change have laid the whole success of the Germans to the credit of their superior tactics, but there is abundant proof that this is not the case. In the well-known Wellington Essay—here let me *en passant* remark that though its author may be stigmatised as young and inexperienced, he strove with success against Sir Garnet Wolseley and other eminent soldiers, and that success no unprejudiced reader will attribute entirely to the literary sympathies of Colonel Hamley—in the Wellington Essay, I say, the writer lays down most distinctly that from Prussian practice alone no real deductions can be drawn. They adopted a system on the spur of the moment, which was never severely tested; for “the motley and demoralised host” which surrendered at

Sedan was scarcely in reality more formidable than the raw levies whom the Germans had subsequently to meet. But it will be best perhaps to take some portions of General Thesiger's paper in their proper order. Throughout, I may remark, General Thesiger quotes passages from various writers which, separated from the context, appear favourable to his views, while those who are acquainted with the works in their entirety know the completed argument is wholly adverse. He commences by quoting from one of the Wellington Essays an attack upon the line without modifications; and repeating the author's words, takes him to task for attacking the line modified by sixteen sections of the Field Exercise. How many of those sixteen sections did the Light Division employ against the great Redoubt? There is an end to all argument if the line advocate cries—"Why do you abuse my line? It is only the bits of a column put side by side;" and the column advocate—"Why do you abuse my column, it is only the bits of a line put one behind the other. We can alter it to please you." There is nothing to do but shake hands over it as the writer of this paper does with the Wellington essayist in the next six lines, confessing that the Alma line, which was meant all the time, does require serious alteration. General Thesiger then concedes lying down, advancing by rushes, loss of touch, brings the line to the skirmishers instead of the skirmishers to the line; increases their number, and save in a few points, which I propose to discuss, gives all that moderate men have ever asked for. If after the campaign of 1870 the authorities had "fully recognised the necessity for great flexibility and elasticity," and tried to "bring out the full power" of the line, we should have heard less nonsense talked; but the United Service Institutions of England, which argued calmly at first, at last went raving mad about order in disorder, skirmisher swarms, and organised swashbuckling. At the close of the manoeuvres of 1871, a critic less known to the world than either Hamley or Chesney but one endowed with a genius equal to either of them wrote:—"Nothing can be more opposed to the infantry tactics which have so lately earned victory than the leading and the movement of the well-drilled battalions which took part in the manoeuvres."

In 1872 certain Commanding Officers, on their own responsibility, trained their regiments to a few movements on the Prussian model; and just before the autumn manoeuvres an able lecturer and scientific officer, wrote in grief to inform me that it had all been put a stop to; there was to be nothing but company skirmish, company support, advance in line, and volleys by command. But at the end of 1872, six years after Sadowa, the authorities surrendered with a precipitation equal to their previous obstinacy, in

time to give us at the Camp of Exercise the unmitigated sprawling over the country, which has excited the Adjutant-Generals very natural disgust. But his protest comes too late to do more than make the new school, as I hope it will as far as Indian influence can affect the battle already nearly fought out at home, moderate in their victory.

General Thesiger's arguments, as to what fire we have to consider from 800 yards until collision, are very closely reasoned, and his remarks on unaimed fire most valuable; but their real weight is not so overwhelming as would at first appear. General Thesiger would probably accuse me of quibbling if I said his advance is not a two-deep line. The number of skirmishers is now so large that either it is not a two-deep line at starting, or during its advance it ceases to be one. I do not care whether skirmishers are detached from flanks of companies or sections,——and indeed, what with gaps between companies, and loose files, there is such a strong resemblance in what General Thesiger recommends to the skirmisher swarm, that I am surprised he attacks it so severely. It is impossible to argue wide questions in a narrow and rigid manner. A complicated problem in dynamics cannot be treated like an early proposition of Euclid. The ground is almost entirely excluded from the writer's argument, and depth of formation cannot be treated as a mere question of fire danger. High authorities consider it is demanded by considerations for which even fire danger must be ignored; the power to develop and resist rapidly flank attacks is now held of vital importance. Moreover, it is well-known in practice that the fighting line draws on itself all the aimed rifle fire; distant bodies, which suffered severely until the enemy's attention was occupied, have been known, when the front fight was hot, to stand unnoticed, unharmed in the open owing to the unconquerable human habit of hitting back at the nearest adversary. All the advantages therefore are not in favour of having more troops in one line than can profitably join the fire fight. Until experiments have been made (something of the kind, but not quite what I mean, was tried at Chalons) by a line of men firing rapidly, some carefully, some at random, on the front line of a succession of targets, so distributed over a width of say 400 yard, and a depth of 800 yards, that every shot might hit a target but no shot two—a matter easily arranged—and then careful diagrams founded on the trajectory, drawn of the first 400 yards; no argument can be derived from unaimed fire. There is nothing whatever to prove to what particular kind of depth of formation unaimed fire is adverse. It has a law doubtless as unchangeable as the number of unaddressed letters posted in a year; but we don't know yet where and in what proportions

unaimed shot goes, but I shall be very much surprised if, on diagrams of the lines of danger being drawn perpendicular to the paper, and diagrams of troops horizontal, it be found that on flat surface even a double line drawn through the worst zone of 25 per cent of aimed fire, gets less shots than the same two lines distributed in certain proportions over the 400 yards from the front target, with only those able to fire back on the worst of it; but if, by a very simple use of the plane and the trajectory obtained from the flat surface experiments, various representations of undulating ground with the lines of danger be drawn, and certain small obstacles distributed over it, I shall be still more surprised if the result shews that a two-deep line swept over the whole ground nets less shots than orderly groups with orderly reserves moving, within fixed limits of course for each unit, sometimes in line sometimes in column. I shall be surprised if the line moving always at the double, and therefore halving the shots, nets less than the varied advance moving at a walk and skilfully manipulated.

Without any special experiments, by use of wide movable targets, on open ranges, behind the target fired at, especially with troops on their early instruction, a good deal might be learnt about badly aimed fire. All we yet know is, it goes high and to the left. If we could discover that intensity of fire decreases regularly from the fire front, we should know that all but the firing line should be kept as far back as was safe; but if we could prove what is probably near the truth, that beyond a certain zone before and behind the engaged line chance shots fall pretty equally, then we have everything to gain by pushing up supports and reserves as close to the deadly zone as possible.

But the law of unaimed and random fire we may never know.

Meanwhile we must appeal to rough experience. The Prussian regulations say:—"The division pushed forward to subdue the enemy's fire must seek special aid in a skilful use of the ground, and they will find almost every where frequently, even in open ground, appearing quite level, an inconsiderable fold which will give cover to the skirmishers lying down and even to the closed divisions." This is the Prussian advice after long and bloody trials.

At Le Mans, Captain Brackenbury tells us:—"The fire of the French was so awful that it was perfectly impossible for troops in any formation to live under it. The only way in which the Prussians did live was by advancing in very loose order, by throwing themselves down, by dodging behind every hedge and bank, by assembling in groups behind a house or little hill, and creeping on bit by bit as they could." This is the evidence of a skilled eye-witness, and the weight of evidence goes to prove that, while acknowledging fully in very many situations the two-deep line in open order moving rapidly cannot be improved on, all

formations of the rake and roller type long continued, which forbid skirmishers to swerve, which discourage lines breaking into small columns are disadvantageous; it does not make the slightest difference whether you use one long rake or eight small ones, whether they move in line or in echelon; it is perfectly plain the whole ground, good and bad, is swept indiscriminately at last.

The type of advance, which the new school of tacticians aims at, is that of a rising flood which, here a thread, there a stream, ever presses on between obstacles or, if for a space stopped by a rock, pauses a moment and then pours round the flank, and once more resumes its advance. Are the principles of order so utterly unattainable in this system that we must reject it? General Thesiger certainly does not in spirit, though he strives to appear to in the letter. At the critical moment, General Thesiger maintains, his two-deep line moved up to the skirmishers will be in perfect order. Now his system allows numerous skirmishers, and a gap on one or both flanks of each section. Supposing the numerous skirmishers sustain no loss, and the line sustains no loss, even suppose the skirmishers walk perfectly straight, and the line after them, will all the little bits behind fit all the little bits in front? I doubt it, but supposing both skirmishers and line decimated, and that in addition the skirmishers of one section have swerved 20 yards to the right, another 10 yards to the left, there will be a good deal of mess I imagine in the dovetailing; but granting a loose line of skirmishers could keep distance not only from end to end, but at many intermediate points, surely there is this vast difference in "reinforced line of skirmishers" (reinforced skirmisher swarm it should have been here) "and the two-deep line," that the reinforcements have picked their way, the two-deep line have not. The difference between using the stepping stones and fording the stream, between using the crossing and defying the mud, is shown plainly enough by our boots; and what if it be true as Colonel Williams says in No. 69 of the English papers "It is vain now to talk of any better line of front, if a perfect line could fall from the skies and find itself near the enemy, it would quickly assume the shape of a skirmisher swarm."

The general principles regarding the advance of skirmishers are admirable, and I think such movements as advance in right echelon, in left echelon, pointed echelon, and hollow echelon, words which explain themselves, might well form part of skirmisher training; but it is not to be supposed that rule will be adhered to in the heat of fire. The principle, however, that some should always be firing while the others are advancing can be inculcated, but a line of skirmishers formed, as is proposed, by individuals from 32 different sections, then divided into four great divisions (and how commanded, General Thesiger does not say), I

cannot believe would form a fighting line with either mutual confidence or enterprise; or be able to reconcile in the heat of the fight its allegiance to the four great divisions it is in, and the 32 sections it has to keep in front of, at the same time. General Thesiger's plan for getting over the last final difficulty has, I fear, a savour of the drill on a small scale in the barrack square, and an obliging enemy crushed by the cross and oblique fire of the over-lapping victorious battalion, what place in a line of fire extending for miles would there be for the two devoted flank companies of a single battalion unless favoured by some wavering of the enemy's line or some peculiarity of ground not necessarily in front of the flank companies? The Prussians are at present practising (Colonel Newdigate at the U. S. Institution) for the final rush, pushing the main body of the company through the centre of the skirmishers; but making a rush through the firing line, is a very different thing from deliberately moving out troops diagonally to the right and left front between the breech-loader duel at its hottest. A battalion occupies a front of, say, 400 yards; a good many more places than two must be liable to turn suddenly into the hydra's head in that distance. Nay more, to drag after them, over favourable ground and in any decent formation the remainder of the battalion. Quoting freely from Captain May the writer claims by inference that the line is free from confusion in retreat; but in this respect the superiority of the line over the other formations is supported by no evidence. The light division, originally in line, advanced in confusion, and fell back in confusion on the Brigade of Guards, also in line, at the Alma, and swept away an entire battalion; the remainder opened out and allowed the retreating line to pass, which goes to prove that had the Brigade of Guards been in four ranks with intervals or in small columns, the Scots Fusiliers would have remained intact. In retreat confusion is inevitable; and the line, either in first line or support, has no exemption from its evils. Again quoting from Captain May, General Thesiger claims for the English battalion system a superiority in the prevention of straggling, but on this point there is really no valid argument whatever. Surely whatever the defects of the Prussian system, it is not true that it "diminishes the supervision of troops" under fire. One glance at the diagram of a Prussian company is a sufficient answer to this. General Thesiger, although he casually mentions "individualised method of fighting," and uses freely Captain May's work, has nothing whatever to say on the main subject of the author he quotes so much, whether a regiment is to consist of a Colonel, an Adjutant, and 800 others, or whether, as Captain May wished, everybody is to disappear but the Captain. This question of the gradual massing of sections into half companies,

double company (the equivalent of the Prussian company), wings and battalions, and their respective commanders, and duties, is not entered into sufficiently and is inseparable from an exhaustive consideration of battalion tactics in the fire fights of the present day.

Again General Thesiger, quoting Essay No. IV says:—"The skirmisher swarm formation entails firing over the heads of the troops;" but General Thesiger is advocating advances in line himself. If he is only going to cover the head of his echellons with skirmishers, he is going back to the old system of shock tactics; if he covers his whole line and makes a fire fight, their heads must be fired over too, whether we call them a line of skirmishers or a skirmisher swarm, but curiously enough the author he quotes from is again one whose general arguments are totally adverse. Sir Garnet Wolseley says:—"It would be well to accustom our foot soldiers to manœuvring with calmness, whilst a fire of blank shells was kept over their heads; even if a few lives should be accidentally lost in doing so, they would be well expended if your infantry acquired perfect steadiness under these circumstances." And speaking of two ranks, "jamming men together, shoulder to shoulder and toe to heel in two ranks," "multiplies the loss of life when they are exposed to fire." The witnesses selected are decidedly bad witnesses for the prosecution of poor skirmisher swarm.

I have carried this review to such length, that I must omit any discussion of General Thesiger's remarks on drill and manœuvring as they stand somewhat apart from the immediate subject of controversy; but it was necessary to analyse with care portions of General Thesiger's paper, because from General Thesiger's position and the expectations raised by his promised paper, it has gone abroad that a successful defence of the British as opposed to the Prussian system was about to be published, and because from the excellence of the paper there is an impression that the defence has been completely successful. It is therefore necessary to point out that the excellence of General Thesiger's paper lies in the acuteness with which certain portions are pleaded and the sensible general remarks, but not in the logical continuity or success of the main argument; it is not a defence of the British line of Aldershot field-days against the last system of the Prussian drill-book, but an unfavourable comparison of one of the worst points of the Prussian system, the skirmisher swarm, exaggerated, with a scheme of General Thesiger's own containing a *souppçon* of the old British line, but perfected by appropriation of many other portions of the very system he is attacking.

To those who are acquainted with the history of the contest that has been going on since, after Sadowa, Major Adams fluttered the old school by announcing the close of the era of bayonet tac-

tics ; to those who have been steeped to the lips in the appalling flood of military essays and discussions that has been poured out since ; or to any one possessing naturally a careful habit of analysis, it is not necessary to point out how much General Thesiger borrows from the system he is attacking and appropriates to the system he is defending ; but to those who have not carefully studied the paper, or who have only heard of its results, I may point out that the old system—when, as Boguslawski remarks, it didn't much matter whether guns were fired or not at any but close quarters—was to send forward a sprinkling of skirmishers who were mere cavalry feelers ultimately withdrawn, behind them at a walk in one line shoulder to shoulder, order being every thing and rapidity secondary, the British line advanced to the shock. I am speaking always of the Guards Aldershot-system as opposed to the light division tactics discussed by Colonel Gawler and Sir William Napier. General Thesiger, although sentences could be quoted showing that his mind is still running on the old shock tactics, accepts the principle of a fire at once established increasing in intensity till one side can bear it no longer ; instead of the skirmishers coming back to the line, the line feeds the skirmishers who are the battle, and ultimately joins them ; rapidity is considered of equal if not superior importance to order ; touch is abandoned, and the line is broken up into pieces. Under these circumstances, I feel justified in saying that though General Thesiger's paper contains many admirable suggestions and is well worthy of careful study, its title is eminently calculated to mislead ; for the distinction between the 'radical changes' General Thesiger deprecates and the "important changes" he accepts is mere hair splitting ; and his plaintive "really" is calculated to produce an impression, that the agitation for reform which has won all General Thesiger concedes was quite uncalled for. The text of the essay honours the new system, the title is far from it ; but it is hardly fair to reject the play and steal the thunder, and I have considered it necessary to give at considerable length my reasons for a loud protest of *sic vos non vobis*.

There is not much advantage gained by going through the greater part of an essay and merely saying—with this I entirely agree : I shall not, therefore, devote much space to Captain Adams' article. It is one of many systems suggested for adapting our tactics to the requirements of modern war. The necessity for a radical change being once accepted, the form in which it should be carried out will prove simple. I submit a few "notions" of my own. We already acknowledge that the order of companies is a matter of indifference. I think it should also be a matter of indifference whether one company supports another by coming up on its right or left in double rank, or by coming up in single rank in its rear. I attach no value whatever

to differences of colour in uniform as giving one large body over another superior safety from fire ; but I do attach great importance to officers in a regiment being indistinguishable from their neighbours, from the front, and conspicuous from the rear. It is an evident truism, although it sounds strange—that, since supports come up from behind, and men follow their leaders, the proper place for distinctive badges is the back which the enemy is supposed never to see. But I do not require facings to be reversed. The pouch belt will serve my purpose. At reviews, where ladies or foreign officers are present, let officers and men wear any facings, belts, or gold lace they fancy ; but in action, for Infantry, I suggest the following :—Officers, white pouch ; marksmen, black, with a bar or cross the color of the regimental facings painted as we see on leather portmanteaux—the two outer sections black—the two inner, common brown leather. Both the men themselves and supports coming up would have a simple means of distinguishing the leaders flanks and centres of every company ; for I think the arrangement of the men by size is one without any object. Let men stand in companies in the order of their shooting from the flanks inwards, the marksmen on the extreme flanks, as it is useless placing a man in the firing line at 1000 yards who cannot hit the target at 400 ; he might as well go another 200 yards out of danger. Let then, the marksmen occupying the front of attack assigned to the company commence the ball, supported by the shooting sections, and ultimately the shock sections filling up the centre as they advance ; and let it be understood, subject to all necessary exceptions,—that to compensate the marksmen for their longer exposure, the final rush is to be made by the Shock Sections under their fire. Let there be a clear understanding. In the absence of other orders the yielding is always to be from a given flank between Regiments, Companies, and Sections ; that, as a general rule, at long distances the centre sections yield to the outer ; and if there is crowding, are withdrawn in succession by their Sergeants ; at close quarters, the outer fall back in support :—but I must not drift into writing a drill book. To return to Captain Adams :—the best feature of Captain Adams' paper is that portion where he dispels the delusion that Britons never fought except in line, as the very arrow head of the Wellington Essay was that passage where the author says :—"No one would be disposed to accuse either Prince Frederick Charles, Boguslawski or Captain May of enacting the part of Mr. Puff. But, with reference to many of their admirable suggestions, *the same idea occurred to two men*, and an English Light Infantry officer *thought of it first*." By all means let us retain what is good in the line formation ; but let us not run away with the notion that that imposing product of 40 years' peace—the slow march of the Guards at St. James's moving like a wall and

wheeling like a gate, is the only way to win battles, or the type of our tactics, when Wellington was at his brightest and our Light Division at its best—faultless for defence—"an attack in rigid line, except for short distances, never was possible against properly posted enemies, and attacks never can now, except under the rarest circumstances, be restricted to short distances."

Captain Barnes' pamphlet has been reviewed already elsewhere at a length out of all proportion to its importance as a contribution to military literature; and after what I have said about the suppression of zeal, I shall not stultify myself by indulging in ill-natured criticism. Still, although I only purpose expressing my dissent from the author on one matter of opinion, I must do so in several instances in matters of fact.

Captain Barnes thinks the drill of the Cavalry was perfection: to that idea I have no objection; but he adds that he saw no blunders (serious) committed. Equally competent observers saw a good many; not, I will say, in the 10th Lancers. Captain Barnes says no fighting on foot was attempted at the Camp. He is mistaken. One Brigade certainly was practised in dismounted skirmishing—as the victims will probably not soon forget. Attack also was assisted by dismounted Sowárs; and, if Captain Barnes says these instances are not what he means, I may add, in Sir Henry Tombs' attack, Gondal was held for a time by dismounted skirmishers. Captain Barnes labours under the entirely false impression that the 10th Lancers was the only regiment at the Camp which possessed an organised system of scouts. Various other regiments had selected officers, selected men, and selected horses told off for purposes of scouting. I could name several gentlemen who will feel very much astonished at Captain Barnes' statement.

It was scarcely worth while printing the title "Reconnaissance," when Captain Barnes has so little to say on it, and when that little makes one ask if he rightly understands the meaning of the word. That men went out and made pictures, that one regiment played ostrich near camp, and another came up and said 'I see you,' is quite correct. But there was not a single attempt to discover the strength and position of an unknown enemy, under war conditions, during the real fighting, as a preliminary to the attack; and it is evident, with operations commencing at 10 and ending at 4, such a thing as a Reconnaissance was impossible. Captain Barnes says he did not see a single instance of a surprise. It is not easy to surprise men at 10 in the morning; but I think some people would be inclined to consider the occupation of Gondal by a force of unascertained strength, and the subsequent capture of Dakner—the roads of which are quite practicable for small parties of Cavalry—was a

surprise on a large scale. I do not say who was to blame. The one matter of opinion on which I think it necessary to express dissent from Captain Barnes, is where he says that regiments are to pay no respect to the ground assigned to regiments on their flanks, even should they report all right, but to send their own parties beyond them. This is a principle which cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. It simply means this :—The Commander of the outposts has given you certain ground to look after—and us certain ground ; but we have so much spare ability and energy that, as we can't trust you to do your part of the business effectually, we intend to look out for ourselves in your ground as well. I hope that outposts who find the scouts of other regiments, armed with no higher authority than their Regimental Commander's, intruding on the ground assigned to their charge, will stop them as strictly as they would those of the enemy. Division of labour, subordination, and mutual confidence are necessities of armies. Principles like those I censure, carried to logical conclusion, would allow each regiment to send a delegate to the Head-quarter's Staff to look after their particular interest, and see also that the campaign was being properly conducted.

Captain Barnes is very hard upon the camp correspondents, and he certainly is right in saying the last camp produced nothing so clever, and I may add so personal, as the Sunday letters ; but, in the diary of Beechwood of the "*Englishman*,"—although, I confess, I have read more picturesque description in Russell, and more weighty criticism in Hozier, I find a very fair amount of liveliness, common sense and accuracy, and an untiring energy and capacity for note-taking very creditable, viewed from the daily newspaper point of view ; but in reprinting with malice aforethought his letters as they were written, without either adding to or condensing them, I think "*Beechwood*" has not quite given us what is wanted, and has exaggerated the importance people attach to such ephemeral productions. Indeed, even if we consider General Thesiger's paper as—what it undoubtedly is—a product of the last Camp, the whole literary outcome is not very great. A really exhaustive paper on strategy and tactics *apropos* of Indian Camps and their results, has yet to be written ; and I recommend, as a model to those who aspire to supply the want, *A Retrospect of the Autumn Manœuvres by A Recluse.*

N. L.

ART. IX.—THE RE-ORGANISATION OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

IT is a statement older than any system of political ethics that "the benefits of an institution for which all are taxed ought to be rendered as accessible as possible to all." That the Medical is furthest from attaining this end of any department in India, few of its members will care to deny; as at present organised, it represents a maximum of expenditure with a minimum of practical usefulness. There is a vast reserve of skill and energy among its members which is allowed to lie fallow, and which does not, by so doing, gain strength for more fruitfulness but rather deteriorates into greater barrenness. That the expenditure and skill thus misapplied might be spread over a vast area and benefit the millions under our rule instead of its being concentrated upon ourselves and our native soldiery, is the object of this paper. The proposals that I have to submit to your readers will not involve additional expenditure; indeed, with the inelastic resources of this country it is impossible to do much more than has been done to provide medical relief for the masses. To do so a radical change in the system is necessary.

No one will dispute the assertion that the medical service has had a history worthy of our common country. In professional knowledge, energy, courage, and kind-heartedness, its members have been very even representatives of our countrymen in the East; and that the service requires re-organisation is only due to the fact, that much of the work which, a few years ago, only they could perform can now be done efficiently enough by native agency at a fourth of the expenditure.

In introducing radical changes, there is always a difficulty involved, when the initiative occurs with the governing and not with the governed body. But in introducing the measures I have to propose, the *odium medicum* will assuredly not be incurred; inasmuch as for the last dozen years the present system has been found to be expensive and unsatisfactory, and the representative men of the service have been anxious for a change which would afford more scope for the exercise of their profession.

*Briefly stated the proposals which I would venture to suggest are the following—

Sub-Assistant Surgeons to have medical charge of native Regiments; and with the reduction of expenditure thereby attained, provide—

I.—A Garrison Surgeon to every military station, however small, who would exercise a general supervision over the Native Sub-

Assistant Surgeons, and at the same time be available to attend upon European Officers and their families; and in addition to these, a Staff Surgeon for the head-quarters of every Brigade and Divisional Command.

II.—A sanitary officer to every civil division, and,

III.—A native doctor to every tehsil in the Bengal Presidency.

To non-medical readers it may seem a startling innovation to place natives in medical charge of regiments, but medical men who have come in contact with Sub-Assistant Surgeons professionally, will ungrudgingly admit their fitness for the charge. I speak from a pretty wide and not unobservant experience when I state, that to reserve a European Medical Officer to a native regimental hospital is a waste not only of State money but of his time and professional knowledge. In regimental practice the range of disease is narrow, and in an incredibly short time the Surgeon finds his practical experience becoming a thing of the past. It is well known—and no one will more readily admit it than a regimental Surgeon,—that the most inefficient men professionally are, as a rule, those who have been for years simply in charge of a regimental hospital. So much is this the case that few who desire to excel in their profession care to remain longer than they can help with a Native regiment. The medical practice is neither large nor varied; except in August and September (when the fever period reverts) the sick of a regiment varies from 25 to 30 as a daily average, augmented in January and February by a number of old malingers who suffer from lumbago and kindred ailments in order to pass the annual invaliding committees. Fevers, diarrhoea and blistered feet form nine-tenth of the diseases, and from the similarity of living, general habits, and constitution of native soldiers, any thing beyond routine practice is not ordinarily required. This the native doctor even, can supply as well his principal; and it is usually delegated to him. It is only on very rare occasions that mysterious ailments and complications occur, which try the better trained acumen of the European. In the great majority of cases the medical officer finds half an hour a day ample for the requirements of a regimental hospital, and for the rest of the day "dull care and duller time" must be driven off as best he may. Some years ago, in order to create a fictitious, in what had little inherent interest, a circular from the highest administrative authority enjoined medical officers to spend at least two hours a day in hospital. This as it deserved was more honoured (and more observed) in the breach than in the observance,—the very necessity for the injunction showing the hollowness and futility of the system.

That the saving would be immense by substituting Native Sub-

Assistant Surgeons I shall now proceed to show. In the Bengal Presidency there are on an average, excluding the administrative grades, 98 medical men attached to the army. At the average rate of 700 per mensem this represents an expenditure of 68,600 a month or upwards of eight lakhs a year! Nothing need have been said, if the necessity for it had been commensurate with the outlay, as was the case some ten years ago; but as I have shown that the work could now be performed efficiently enough for about 15,000, there seems a heavy responsibility for needlessly expending money wrung from, perhaps, the poorest tax-payers in the world. In order to make natives efficient substitutes they must be well-selected, well-educated, and better paid. For the first seven years I would have them styled Sub-Assistant Surgeons and paid Rs. 100 per mensem, for the second seven years, Assistant Surgeons and paid Rs. 200, and for over fourteen years' service, Deputy Surgeons and paid Rs. 300 per mensem. They would not require native doctors as they would reside near the hospital, and thus 100 additional men would made be available for tehsil dispensaries.

European medical attendance must be provided for officers and their families. The diversity of race and of the social up bringing of natives renders it imperative to appoint a Garrison Surgeon in every military station where there is no Civil Surgeon. He would exercise a general supervision over the native subordinates, check and transmit their returns and be available at the same time to attend upon European Officers and their families. Staff Surgeons would be required in addition at Brigade and Divisional commands in case of field service. I have calculated that Garrison and Staff Surgeons would absorb about 45 of the number I have previously referred to; leaving over 50, or with the addition of vaccine Superintendents about 65 men.

Of these I would appoint 30 as Sanitary Officers, one to each Civil Division in the Presidency—in the following proportions.

Bengal	...	11
N. W. Provinces	..	7
Panjáb	..	5
Oudh	...	4
Central Provinces	.	3

The expenditure involved in the remaining 35 would, in addition to the 100 native Doctors relieved from regimental work, provide for a native Doctor to every Tehsil from Pesháwar to Cuttack and from Nágpur to Assam.

A curious contrast is afforded between the areas supervised by English and Indian Sanitary Officers. A Rural Sanitary Board in England advertises for a Medical Officer of health to give his exclusive attention to a district comprising some 281,000 acres

and a population of 59,000. The Sanitary Commissioner of the North Western Provinces is expected to supervise the Sanitary arrangements of a Province containing 83,000 square miles and a population much higher than the whole of the United Kingdom. Truly the harvest is great and the labourers few! The Sanitary Department as it exists, is anomalous even in India. A number of heads, doubtless very wise, but without bodies or members. Recognising the many insanitary abuses that existed without check—instead of reorganising the whole department and bringing it up to the requirements of the country, the Government adopted a "policy of patchwork" by appointing one Sanitary Commissioner to each province. Dirt, ignorance and disease coming on like a tide and one man to cope with it. Mrs. Partington of Sidmouth beating back the Atlantic with a mop, was nothing to this!

What is wanted is an extension of the system; to give a body and consistency to a disjointed head; and to make sanitation one of the main branches of medical administration and not a mere parasitic growth, as it is at present. Without additional expense as I have shown a "Sanitary Officer" could be appointed to each Civil Commissionership in direct subordination to the Provincial Sanitary Commissioner; who ought to be Medical Secretary to the local Government, and be in turn subordinate to a Director General appointed with the Government of India. The duty of the Sanitary Officers would be to supervise the Tehsil Dispensaries, and vaccine department, and to personally visit the localities (whose name is legion) which are chronically infected with fevers and cholera. The Civil Surgeon is for the most part tied to the Sadr Station. He is daily referred to in criminal cases; has generally executive charge of the Jail; ladies and children require his constant presence if not his professional services. The Sanitary Officer on the other hand would be free to go on short notice whenever his services were required either to supervise local Sanitary measures, or, an equally important point, to investigate the origin of, and conditions attending, local outbreaks.

The present Sanitary Commissioner is not the only medical anomaly in the country; the Civil Surgeon forms a "good second." Partly under civil, partly under military supervision, he shares the fate of the man who sat between two stools. When, for example, he conducts a postmortem examination, he must in the first instance send a copy of the case to the local Magistrate—another is to be sent to the Deputy Surgeon General of his circle, a third to the Sanitary Commissioner, and, if the subject has been previously under medical treatment, a fourth would be sent to the Inspector General of Dispensaries, who is also Inspector General of Jails with the supervision of a daily average of 20,000 prisoners on his

shoulders! Truly wonders crowd upon one who enters upon the details of our medical administration! The many and circuitous channels provided for communication with their superiors involve anything but an economical expenditure of time, temper and stationery."

As if in this vast country with its teeming millions, its morbid conditions of a tropical climate, bad water, and the dirt and disease engendered by poverty and ignorance, there were not sufficient work to be distributed to each without treading on his neighbour's heels, the Government has given ample opportunity for an indulgence in that pastime. Heinrich Heine's distribution of external nature into things that could be eaten, and things that could not be eaten, had at least the merit of an incisiveness which this classification does not possess.

The vulgar proverb of too many irons in the fire requires no better illustration than the labour devolved upon the Inspector General of Jails. Able as he may be, and certainly is, he must be more than human who could efficiently supervise the details connected with the discipline and financial management of over forty Jails, containing 20,000 prisoners, in addition to about treble the number of Dispensaries, large and small. The watchful care, the minute investigation into details, and the correspondence that so many jails involve, are of themselves sufficient for the ablest intellect and, most persistent energy. Ireland with a fifth of the population, has two Inspectors General of Jails in addition to local boards and inspectors. It is sanitation over again, the supervision considered necessary for a parish in England, suffices for a province in India!

The most advantageous part of the scheme proposed would be the establishment in every Tehsil of a native Doctor. This would bring the science and medicine of the West within reach of the masses. In cholera and fever Epidemics we make the police, the most detested class in every country and particularly in this, the dispensers of our medical relief. Policeman Rām Baksh would do less mischief if he were made to drive a railway engine than he does when entrusted with cholera pills (containing as they do, opium) in an Epidemic. "Masterly inactivity" would be a much better policy than the makeshifts we employ to soothe our conscience, when we find our subjects dying uncared for. It is only when Europeans go into camp that they become aware of the amount of preventible human suffering that comes to the surface, and which is so uncomplainingly borne that it almost requires to be sought for.

That the people would resort to Tehsil Dispensaries thereto is ample evidence. In the district in which this is written a small branch Dispensary has been opened about a month ago and

already 290 patients have been under treatment. From the last report of the Inspector General of Dispensaries, N.W.P., I find, excluding Sadr Dispensaries, and seven pilgrim hospitals in Garhwál which are exceptional, that in 1871, 88 branch dispensaries treated 388,687 cases or an average of 4,416 each, all these branch dispensaries being, be it noted, under the charge not of Sub-Assistant Surgeons but of native Doctors. If without incurring additional expenditure we could open up 600 Tehsil Dispensaries in the Bengal Presidency, it would be a fair average to state that over 2,000,000 patients would annually resort to them.

The political advantages of such a measure would be incalculable. The people who live near Sadr Stations are as cognizant as we are of the advantages derived from the British rule; but in the remoter parts of our several districts the policeman and the tax-gatherer are our only representatives; and never did Jews of old hate "publicans and sinners" more than they are hated. The simple villager will neither understand nor appreciate our vaccination and sanitary improvements, but it requires no civilisation to appreciate relief from physical pain, nor can the boon be misconstrued by the most jealous ignorance. It is no maudlin sentiment to say that we can find no means more adapted to win their adherence to our *régime* than by placing medical relief within their reach.

Some parts of the scheme which I have suggested must of course be gradually introduced; vested interests cannot be interfered with. But Sanitary Officers could be even now appointed, and the vacancies filled up in regiments by Sub-Assistant Surgeons, whose position in Dispensaries could be filled up by native Doctors until other arrangements were matured. The present Surgeon General ought to be appointed Director General, with two Secretaries—one Civil and one Military. The present Sanitary Commissioner and the present Secretary, two of the ablest men in the service, might be appointed respectively Civil and Military Secretaries to the Director General under the new organisation.

Will it be believed that because the Sanitary Commissioner has an office independently of the medical department, that an extra printed copy of every weekly and monthly sick returns must be sent to him by regimental Medical Officers, and that on these his statistics are founded? If the expenditure in India had been as closely scrutinised as at Home, this unnecessary item would soon be cancelled. This is only one example of the disadvantages of having a number of channels running closely parallel, when one main channel would serve a better purpose, and serve it more economically.

I have merely outlined the scheme, and that roughly. If the reorganisation of the service were undertaken by Government, those to whom the fiscal arrangements of the country are entrusted would be better able to fill up the details. I may, however, return to the subject in a future issue of your *Review*.

3rd September, }
1873. }

J. M. G.

ART. X.—ON METHODS OF OBSERVING INDIAN PHENOMENA.

IN one aspect the history of British India is the history of a series of giant difficulties triumphantly overcome. With the exception of the period during which Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General, every decade from the days of Clive to the days of Sir John Lawrence has been marked by wars and victories. If the genius of Dupleix at one time rendered probable the formation of a French Empire in Southern India, the dreams of French supremacy were scattered to the winds when the defeat of Lally at Wandewash was followed by the success of Coote at Pondicherry. Before our first serious contest in India had been decided in our favour, Plassey had been fought, and Clive had laid the foundations of the British Empire in Bengal. Scarcely had we asserted our superiority over the French in the Carnatic, when Mysor threatened to force us to abandon the position we had gained. In 1767 Haidar Ali dictated peace under the walls of Madras. Before the century had closed Seringapatam had been besieged twice and had been taken twice; and Tippú Sáheb, the son of our ancient enemy, had been shot through the head by a British soldier in the gateway of the fallen capital. In 1775 began the long contest with the Mahrattas which was not ended till the glorious campaign of 1818 under the auspices of Lord Hastings. At one sweep the Pindári bands were dispersed, and the death-blow was given to the power of the Peshwá. Our enemies, however, were hydra-headed; and as each was destroyed, a new one arose. Burmah twice insulted the British Government, and paid for her tomerity by the cession of Assam, Tenasserim, Arakán, and Pegu. Afghánistán inflicted a disgrace upon our arms which was only partially redeemed by the bravery of the "Illustrious Garrison" of Jalálábád; but which, like our other troubles, was destined to have a speedy end. The murder of Sir William Macnaghten and the massacres in the Khurd Kábul Pass were avenged when the Army of Retribution razed to the ground the great bazar of Kábul. Then followed the succession of insufferable provocations and victorious campaigns which stretched the boundary of British India beyond the Indus. We annexed Sind. We annexed the Panjáb. Other annexations of a different type succeeded these. Bérár and Oudh became part of the dominions of the Company. Last of all, the moment when the empire had reached its greatest extent was the moment of rebellion. Rebellion had to be chastised with an unsparing hand. We had to fight and conquer the army that had fought and conquered for us. Our last victory may have been the

saddest, as it was certainly the most hardly won. But it was a absolutely complete as any that had preceded it.

Military difficulties were but a part of those with which we had to contend. Before a sepoy had been drilled or a British battalion had manœuvred in India, Oudh and Bengal had shaken off the yoke of Dehli ; and the dominions of Holkár, of Sindia, of the Gaikwár, and of the Nizám had become practically independent principalities. The Indian substitute for International Law, the allegiance of the various governments to the throne of Dehli, had every where lost its original vigour. Nor was there more internal order than there was international security. The raids of a nation of freebooters and the turbulence and tyranny of native rulers, left to the heirs by right of conquest of the suzerainty of the Mughuls a legacy of intolerable anarchy. We had to rebuild the fragments of a shattered empire ; and each fragment, as it was incorporated in the structure we raised, had to be moulded into a new and firmer shape. As province after province successively fell under British rule, we had again and again to win the confidence and aid of conquered princes ; to discriminate between mischievous and wholesome usages, destroying the one and strengthening the other ; to stamp out crime ; to establish property upon a solid basis, and to construct upon our own principles an organised government. We had also to assert our paramount power as the bond between the nationalities of India. The stupendous task has been accomplished. Many as are the faults of Indian Government, India is now more peaceful than Europe. In India life and property are as secure and the course of justice is as regular as in any of those Western countries whose civilisation is spreading to the Oriental subjects of England.

Amid this profusion of incident and amongst the pressing necessities of an ever-growing administration, the formation of a large leisured class was an impossibility. Men came out to India not to study but to act. The wonder is not that very little has been done towards the interpretation of the various forms of Indian society, but that there have always been some few Englishmen in the country who have found leisure and energy to learn and to record something more than can be acquired through the ordinary experience of routine or the occasional excitement of emergencies. Yet it is perhaps still more strange that the earliest Indian students should have been a school of literary antiquarians. We might have supposed that the urgent wants of those who had to conquer a country with the geography of which they were by no means perfectly acquainted, and to govern nations of whose institutions and character they were entirely ignorant, would have directed the course of investigation. To some extent, indeed, the choice of studies was influenced by immediate administrative needs. But

whilst Indian soldiers and Indian statesmen were conquering provinces, and making the best shift they could to extemporise governments for foreign nations, Indian students were inquiring whether chess originated in India, whether Pataliputra, the capital of Sandrakottus, was Patna, or some other place, and what was the exact character of the Indian and Arabian divisions of the Zodiac. Horace Wilson was writing a Sanskrit Dictionary and a Hindu Theatre. The Vedas were being ransacked for the records of a faded faith. The first Indian students, instead of delineating the strange society that was before them, were looking to the Institutes of Manu for an almost certainly untruthful picture of the India of two thousand years ago. It will be seen how fortunate a circumstance it was that Oriental study took this bent. These researches at first sight so far removed from the practical exigencies of the time, were destined to supply the clue which assuredly will guide future statesmanship and future investigation.

Yet, how was it that these researches came to be made? Why were Sir William Jones, Henry Colebrooke, Horace Wilson, and their distinguished followers, scholars of literature and scholars of the literature of a dead language? The answer is that they brought with them to India the English ideas of their day. The education of an English gentleman in the last half of the eighteenth century and in the beginning of the nineteenth century was an education in classical literature. A person was entitled to be thought a learned and accomplished man not in so far as he approached to the type of a Faraday or a Huxley, but in so far as he approached to the type of a Bentley or a Porson. You might have been totally ignorant of the most elementary principles of every science, except mathematics. You might have been utterly unable to construe a line of Göethe, or to turn a single sentence of Dante or Voltaire into English. But it was absolutely necessary that you should have studied the *Æneid* of Virgil, that you should have been able to compose a neat exercise of Latin Elegiacs, and to conjugate the Greek irregular verbs. The education of a man of the world was not distinguished from the education of a schoolmaster. If you had a minute acquaintance with Greek and Latin text-books, with Greek and Latin grammar, and with Greek and Latin versification, you had received 'a general education' and were left to acquire the rest of your knowledge in the rough school of life. Of course the indirect results of this kind of training were most salutary. No intelligent mind could be brought into contact with the masterpieces of ancient literature without gaining in pliability and strength. No one but a schoolboy of unusually dull perceptions could read Plato without imbibing something of the Platonic spirit, or Thucydides without attaining some insight into the scope and significance of political history. None

but the coarse could fail to see beauty in Ovid, exquisite literary skill in Horace, and grandeur in Lucretius and Æschylus. But it has only lately become the direct aim of classical education to enlarge the mind by imprinting upon the imagination a vivid picture of the rich and varied life of the two greatest ancient societies, in the full vigour of their political activity, their æsthetic enjoyment, and their speculative power. The aim of classical education in what the late Lord Derby described as its "pre-scientific" period was to make good scholars in the University sense of the term. Its direct products were facility in purely literary criticism, thorough grammatical knowledge, and accuracy and terseness of style. The great monuments of ancient literature were valued more for their artistic excellence than because they preserved the records of the thought and movement of ancient civilisation. The languages of antiquity were prized rather as instruments of expression before whose symmetry modern speech seemed a clumsy contrivance, than as the means to unfold the histories of Greece and Rome. It was by a classical education of this type that the intellectual tastes of the first generation of Anglo-Indian students had been formed. On coming to India they discovered a literature as dead as Greek, and with far less influence on any existing society than the language of Justinian. They discovered verses which we are assured are as melodious as those of Homer. They discovered a language which is said to be unrivalled even by Greek in the flexibility of its grammatical forms, and in the susceptibility of its terms to the most delicate subtleties of meaning. In their minds learning was intimately associated with knowledge of the remote part, and more especially with that kind of knowledge of the remote part which is acquired by a literary critic and a grammarian. Sanskrit literature exactly met the inclinations which had been developed by the education of the time. If Sir William Jones and Horace Wilson had passed their lives in England as leisured country gentlemen they would probably have translated Virgil or Horace, or have edited one or two Greek dramatists, or have done part of the work of Jelf or Buttman or Donaldson. As it was, they fortunately saw in the study of Sanskrit an analogy to the study of Latin and Greek. They investigated and interpreted the Institutes of Manu and the old Sanskrit plays with that keenness of perception, that patience in research, and that accuracy and caution in announcing results which they would have applied to the fragments of the Twelve Tables, or to the choruses of Euripides and Sophocles.

In so far as Oriental learning retained its literary and philological character, its influence was wholly beneficial. There was, however, one application of the knowledge of Sanskrit and Arabic which

brought about mixed results. When the government of Indian provinces in every department was first thrust upon us, it became absolutely necessary that we should administer some kind of civil law. The mischief that would ensue upon a wholesale introduction of English law was speedily perceived. Men accustomed to the idea of a voluminous written law instinctively turned to the treatises of Hindu and Musalmán jurisprudence for the rules and principles which they felt their own system could not adequately supply. It is true that the Hindu legal commentaries and the traditions and digests of the Law of Islám may more properly be compared with the *responsa prudentum* of the Roman jurists than with the massive collections of English case law. But the earliest Indian administrators felt that they had the surest footing then obtainable in the existing law literature of the country. Warren Hastings, who was amongst the first members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, ordered the compilation of a general digest of Hindu law. Two treatises on contracts and inheritance by Trivédin and Jagannátha respectively, were composed at the instance of Sir William Jones. He also suggested the translation of the Hedáya by Mr. Hamilton. European authors vied with native lawyers in the elucidation of native law. Sir Francis Macnaghten wrote the "Considerations on the Hindu Law." Sir William Macnaghten wrote the text-book which is still the standard authority upon the principles of Hindu and Muhammadan Law. The exertions of the Macnaghten's were equalled by those of Sir Thomas Strange and Mr. Baillie. These works have profoundly influenced the course of justice, and have moulded innumerable decisions. With the experience of the present time it is easy to condemn as too facile the old dependence upon what may be called closet law. We now know that we have given to the rules of Hindu and Muhammadan Law a rigidity which they did not possess under native modes of administering justice. It is becoming the fashion to decry precedents, and to exclaim against the destruction of native customary institutions by our courts. We can see that the written law of the Korán and the Dharma Sástras and their interpreters is much further removed from the usages which actually obtain amongst the people than we had suspected. One of the best efforts of recent legislation has been the passing of the Panjáb Laws Act, which provides that in several large departments of law, including inheritance and the Law of Private Conditions, the rule of decision shall be primarily custom, and that the strict principles of the Hindu and Muhammadan law shall only be applied in so far as they have not been modified by custom. The Oudh Laws Bill now before the Legislative Council contains a provision of the same type. It may be that the written law has been administered

with too much dogmatism and precision. But the first Indian statesmen had before them a choice of evils. They had either to invent new rules for nations of whose institutions they were consciously ignorant. Or they had to make the best of those written records of native law which were available. They chose the latter course. The harm which their choice may have occasioned may not even now be beyond repair. From the point of view of the student of law it is amply compensated by the fuller knowledge of two great legal systems which is already leading to striking discoveries in the field of comparative jurisprudence.

The year 1834 may be taken as the approximate date of a great change in the spirit and direction of Indian inquiry. It was in this year that James Prinsep published the results of the labours of Masson at Kábul and of Court and Ventura in the Panjáb. At the same time the battle between the Orientalists and the Anglicists was raging in Calcutta. The Orientalists advocated an Eastern education for the Hindus. The Anglicists urged the advantages of communicating to the East the benefits of Western science and literature. The former party had a formidable champion in Horace Wilson. The latter were led by Sir Charles Trevelyan and Macaulay; Macaulay was then a member of the Supreme Council and President of the Board of Education. His characteristic condemnation of ancient Oriental literature is well-known.

'We are at present,' he wrote, 'a Board for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was when it was blank, and for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, and absurd theology.' The fact was that the phalanx of reformers who may now be said to occupy the out-posts of the defenders of the purely classical education of the old stanip had been advancing with rapid strides. The value of physical science as an instrument of education was beginning to be recognised. The growing faith in the methods of physical science was breeding an exaggerated scorn for intellectual achievements which had not those methods for their basis. There was as yet no widespread acknowledgment of the vast importance of Oriental antiquity to the student of language, to the student of mythology, and to the student of ancient law. Oriental scholarship was defended on the comparatively weak ground of the intrinsic excellence of Oriental literature. The time had not yet come when the effect of Oriental scholarship upon the philosophy of history and of society could be shown. Thus the Anglicists won the day. It was, perhaps, a consequence of the same intellectual movement that the school of literary antiquarians, versed in the Vedas, in the Mahábhárata, and in Kalidása, was succeeded by a

school of archæological explorers * who abandoned the study and the desk for the temple and the cave, and who left off translating Sanskrit texts to decipher the inscriptions on monuments and the legends of coins. There is not, it is true, a broad and definite line of demarcation between the literary antiquarians of the first fifty years of our rule and the field archæologist, as they are termed, of the second fifty years. Buchanan, a true field archæologist, surveyed Mysor, Bihâr, and Assam at the very beginning of the present century. Erskine wrote his account of the Elephanta Caves of Bombay in 1813. But as the distinctive characteristic of the first epoch was the scholarly interpretation of ancient Hindu literature, so the distinctive characteristic of the second epoch was the minute and careful exploration of buildings and localities. Detailed maps and plans took the place of vague or glowing descriptions. Observation was still directed to the remote past. But observation no longer consisted principally in literary investigations. The evidence examined was evidence addressed to the senses, the still existing relics of bygone ages, the coins of old dynasties, the votive tablets of buried generations, and the shrines of forgotten priests.

It is sometimes a little difficult to convince people who have no imaginative interest in the past that any practical good can come of digging up old brass and silver and pottery, of making out old alphabets which nobody ever uses, and of re-constructing old languages of which nobody living had ever heard. To such persons the enthusiasm of men like Prinsep and Kittoe is unintelligible. They can no more comprehend it than they could comprehend an enthusiasm for collecting old rags and old bones. They are apt to regard an archæologist as at best a kind of harmless monomaniac. Still even the least imaginative and most practical of mankind would scarcely venture to affirm that history is an altogether superfluous branch of human knowledge. If you condemn archæology as useless, to be consistent, you must believe either that history also is useless, or that history in the composition of which many of the facts attainable have wilfully been disregarded, is as good as history which is compiled from all the facts which can be obtained. To require that history should be written without the aid of archæology is to ask the historian gratuitously to fling away one of the best instruments of research within his reach. Archæology is the handmaid of history. It is the function of the archæologist to supply a most important part of the evidence upon which the history of antiquity is based. Nor is it political history alone that is indebted to archæological

* Archæological Survey of India. *der Cunningham, c.s. 1. Introduction, Reports for 1862-63-64-65, by Alexan-* pp. VII and XIX.

inquiry. The discovery of the Bactrian alphabet was as great a boon to the philologist, as the translation of the inscriptions of Asoka was to the historian of India. The character of an age is imprinted upon its coins, upon its architecture, upon all its works of art. The sculptures of Buddhist shrines are fraught with meaning to the inquirer into the theological ideas and religious practices of the East. The generalisations of Mr. Fergusson upon tree and serpent worship may not be warranted by the facts produced. But the ingenuity of those generalisations and the care and caution which have been used in collecting the data from which they are, it may be erroneously, drawn—will always render them most valuable as a contribution to the study of the development of Indian religions. At the present time the observation of Indian phenomena would seem to be entering upon a new phase. Yet each successive phase in the methods of inquiry is intimately connected with that which preceded it. The old methods are neither abandoned nor superseded. They give birth to new methods, but the effort is not fatal to themselves. The field archaeologists would not have attained their success had they not been aided by the Sanskrit scholarship of the literary antiquarians. The study of Sanskrit is not now pursued in India with the energy and devotion of former years. The Orientalists have lost ground in this country. In Europe they have gained far more than they have lost. Chairs of Sanskrit have been founded in all the greater European Universities. The archaeology of India must have its permanent home in the land of the caves of Ellora and of the Kutb Minar. This study cannot be transported Westwards like the study of Sanskrit literature. The tide of scientific investigation is now turning from the past to the present, and the tendency is rather to seek explanations of the existing facts of existing Indian society in the analogous facts of other ages and countries, than to amass evidence for the purposes of purely Indian history. But of course the present of India cannot be thoroughly understood without the history of its past. Archaeology must contribute to make the wide and little explored desert of ancient Indian history, a known and traversed land. The current of archaeological inquiry is still a strong and fertilising stream. There is every reason to hope that its force and volume will in no way be diminished.

The recent change in the mode of observing Indian phenomena may be described by saying that the Comparative Method is being applied to the explanation of those phenomena. The first department of inquiry in which the methods of observation and induction were employed with a truly scientific strictness in the investigation of a part of the history of the human mind was Comparative Philology. This science affords a good illustration of the

nature of the Comparative Method. Comparative Philology does not consist in the mere comparison of any two or more languages that may be selected at random. It consists in the accurate and exhaustive comparison of the grammar and vocabulary of all languages which are open to observation, with the view to discover the general laws of the development of language. It is the verification of the hypothesis that the structure and growth of language are regulated by definite and ascertainable laws of nature which has made Comparative Philology a science. The philologists compared the declensions and conjugations, the pronouns, conjunctions, numerals, all the parts of speech of Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavonic. They collected and analysed the dialects of every quarter of the inhabited globe. They discovered laws of phonetic change. They made a genealogical classification of languages. Just as it was proved that French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese could not be derived from Provençal, or from a *Lingue Romane* which was the same as Provençal, but, on the contrary, that Provençal and the other Romance languages had a parallel development from Latin, so it was proved that Zend and Greek and Latin and Sanskrit and the old Teutonic languages were none of them derived the one from the other but were all the sister off-shoots of a common stock. Thus was formed the group known as the Indo-European or Aryan family of languages, indicating probable tribal or national connection in the far distant past between the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Hindustán, Afghánistán, Persia, European Russia, Southern Europe, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and the Germanic, Celtic, and Saxon lands. It was seen that all the inflectional modifications of words had once a separate existence as distinct and significant vocables. The relation, for example, was shown between the Greek future in *-σῶ* and the old auxiliary *as* to be, and the locative termination *æ*, originally *ai*, of the first declension in Latin was connected with the locative termination in *i* of the third declension. The decay of language through clipped pronunciation was proved to be subject to fixed laws, and to be compensated in some measure by the reinvigoration of literary languages through the primitive speech which dialects preserved. Analysis proceeding further hewed away the growths of inflection and brought to light the ultimate syllabic forms or roots, such as *dā* to give, *tud* to strike, *plu* to flow, and *spās* to see. The laws of the reciprocal transliteration of these roots in Greek and Sanskrit, Gothic, and Old High German respectively, were established by Grimm. The classification of languages passed into a new stage. The principle of structure was substituted for the principle of common derivation, and a morphological classification of languages succeeded a genealogical classification. Languages

were classed as *Radical* or *Isolating* when every root retained its independent form ; as *Terminational* or *Agglutinative* when one root retained and the others compounded with it lost independence ; and as *Inflectional* when independence was preserved by none of the roots forming the compound word.* It was perceived that in the history of language the Radical stage, when every part of a word was independently a perfect root, was prior to the Terminational stage, and that the Inflectional stage, which is characteristic of the Semitic and Aryan families, was the latest of the three. One problem has hitherto baffled all the efforts of the philologists. Language has been resolved into significant roots, combined and modified according to laws which are uniform in operation and beyond the control of human will. The secret of the origin of these roots is still undiscovered.

The great results which have been attained by Comparative Philology may be regarded as historically the consequence of the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. "No philologist," wrote Sir William Jones, "could examine the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and Celtic had the same origin with the Sanskrit. The old Persian may be added to the same family."† The discovery of Sanskrit rendered it necessary that the relation of Sanskrit to the other Indo-European languages should be fixed with accuracy.‡ This necessity soon made the existence of a common basis of the Aryan family a recognised and familiar principle. Before the discovery of Sanskrit there was little more than a rough geographical classification of languages. Connection between the tongues of remote parts of the world was indeed presumed ; but the nature and degrees of the connection were left indeterminate.§ The nature and degrees of the connection the study of Sanskrit at once compelled and enabled the philologists to define. Had it not been for the labours of the literary antiquarians, the laws of the structure and growth of language would still have been unknown, because, without an improvement in the classification of languages, those laws could not have been discovered. The useful improvement was made directly Sanskrit was known. The scholarly skill and self-devotion of the first Anglo-Indian students were the informing power which seized upon the scattered indications of the truth and welded the comparatively random results of previous researches.

* Professor Max Müller. *The Science of Language*. Vol. I., p. 298 and 299.

† *Idem*. p. 173.

‡ Noted by Professor Max Müller.

§ *Idem*. p. 174.

into a definite shape which, under the spell of further study, has become a compact and living science.

It has been pointed out that the historian of early times cannot dispense with archæology. Comparative Philology also comes to his aid. In the face of facts, such as the adoption by the Gauls of an Italian dialect, it is not scientific to assume that community of languages is conclusive evidence of community of race. In the case, however, of the Indo-Germanic nations the theory of their common origin rests upon more than a grammatical analysis of Aryan languages. The theory is strengthened by concurrent testimony from various quarters. The jurist and the student of mythology and of the development of religion support the conclusions of the philologist. It is therefore safe to regard the theory as possessing the amount of certainty which is ordinarily attainable in historical investigations. Accepting this position, historians have begun to interrogate language for the purpose of discovering the degree of civilisation reached by the original Aryan race before its dispersion, and by two or more different branches of the stock whilst still mutually connected with each other after severance from the parent stem. This method rests upon the simple principle that language is the index of ideas and therefore the gauge of progress. Men will find words to express the ideas which are most habitual with them, and the fulness of a vocabulary in any particular direction depends upon the prominence of ideas in the same direction. A pastoral tribe will have many more names for the domestic animals than a settled manufacturing community. A jockey can astonish a person who has no special knowledge of horseflesh with a torrent of vocables each denominating some particular part of a horse. No one at all acquainted with the people of this country can have failed to observe the richness of the dialectic terminologies in designations of the various degrees of kindred both on the father's and on the mother's side—a phenomenon natural to a state of society where the law of property is fused with the law of family relationship. Thus, because of the correspondence between language and occupation and between language and mental calibre, the existence of terms at any particular epoch expressing industrial operations or social institutions is taken as conclusive historical evidence of the existence at that particular epoch of the industries and social forms which the terms are used to denote. Language like a magic mirror retains the images of ancient civilisations centuries after those civilisations have decayed or been displaced. By asserting the terms common to the different nations of the Indo-Germanic stock, Dr. Mommsen* has shown that the primitive

* Mommsen's *History of Rome*. Translated by the Rev.
W. P. Dickson, pp. 16-24.

race, before it sent forth the successive armies of colonists destined to found nationalities in the East and West, had attained to a considerable development in pastoral life.

The presence in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin of words philologically identical relating to building, draught and transport, and sewing, testifies to a culture amongst the common ancestors of the nations who spoke those languages decidedly superior to that of savage hunters or perpetually wandering tribes. In those languages the names of the domestic animals, after allowing for the operation of the laws of phonetic change, are in general the same. On the other hand the names of grains vary. A settled agricultural community certainly would have possessed a large number of names for grains. It is therefore concluded that the life of the primitive Aryan race before the severance of any of the offshoots was not rural. If it had been, grains would have acquired their names before and not after the separation. The presence of certain terms indicating certain ideas and therefore certain habits is proof of the existence of those habits. The absence of terms of another class is proof of the absence of the habits to which those terms would correspond. Employing the same method Dr Mommsen proceeds to show from the evidence of language that the Græco-Italian section of the Indo-Germanic family, before it split into two great divisions and swept out of the main continent of Europe into the peninsulas to found Athens and Rome, had advanced to a further degree of civilisation than the unseparated inhabitants of the original Aryan home. These conclusions rest upon the identification in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin of the words for cow, bird, and horse, for a house, for doors, for an axle, for a yoke, for clothing and the like, and upon the identification in Latin and Greek of vocables indicating a higher grade of culture. This identification has been the work of Comparative Philology. Thus Comparative Philology has created a new kind of historical evidence. The method is obviously applicable to the history of all nations which may reasonably be believed to have a common origin. It will not yield dates. It will not yield picturesque narratives of battles, or romantic stories of the dynastic struggles of kings. But it will approximately fix broad epochs and will reveal what at those epochs was the state of society in those nations to whose history it is applied. Here, then, is another source from which materials may be drawn for the re-construction of the Indian past. Abundant testimony is imbedded in existing languages. We have only to work the mine. If, for example, in Northern India we were to take Panjābi, Hindi, and Bengālī, and were to compare the vocabularies, distinguishing the words which were common to the three languages from those which were peculiar to any one or two, we should be able to sketch in general

outline and with a high probability of truth the social condition of the common ancestors of the races now inhabiting the Panjáb, Hindustán Proper, Bihár and Bengal, before any one of those races had acquired for itself a distinct national character. The order in succession of the several immigrations could be ascertained by determining what words each language or dialect had in common with the whole Indo-European family, because we might presume that the section of the Aryan race which was detached from the primitive stock when the civilisation of the primitive stock was least advanced was the section which was the first to colonise this country. The first tide of immigrants would have carried with it fewer of the words common to all Indo-European races than the tides which spread into India at subsequent periods. The presumption, however, as to the order of the immigrations could not be accepted as an historical certainty unless it were confirmed by archæological research and the political geography of ancient and modern times. It is clear that the same plan might be followed in investigating the history of the southward migrations which have peopled the Indian peninsula.

An inquiry by the aid of Comparative Philology into the history of Indian nationalities is, of course, quite distinct from the purely philological examination of the varieties of Indian speech. In such an inquiry the strata of language would be laid open because they contained fossil history, not in order that they might declare the laws of their own composition. The purpose in view would be not the improvement of the science of language, but the discovery of historical truth. The direct application of the comparative method to the observation of Indian phenomena is the application of the comparative method to the study of Indian languages. That is an application of the method which is in no danger of neglect. The advancement of Comparative Philology by a scrutiny at once wide and close of the languages of British India, more especially of the Non-Aryan languages, is an end to which many of the present generation of Indian students are doubtless devoting their labours. Dr. Hunter has led the way by the publication of his Comparative Dictionary. How much remains to be done is known best by those whose experience has taught them most thoroughly that India is a very Babel of tongues. To mention an instance familiar to officers on the North-West Frontier, the examination of Beluchi would, it may be conjectured, throw much light on the connection between the dead and living languages of Persia, and upon the relation of Persian to Panjabi. Yet it is believed that there is not at the present moment in print a Beluch text book, a Beluch dictionary, or a Beluch grammar.

In his first lecture upon the science of Language, Professor Max Müller laments that his subject has not more to offer to the

utilitarian spirit of the age.* Were he to begin his lectures again he would have no need to offer an apology for any deficiencies in his favourite study on the side of practical usefulness. The discoveries to which Comparative Philology has led and is leading will assuredly rank with any that have ever freed the human soul from the burden of delusions, or have ushered in newer and sounder principles bearing on social progress and the social order. The Science of Language is the parent of Comparative Mythology. Less directly it has given rise to juridical investigations of the type of Sir Henry Maine's "Ancient Law," and to social investigations of the type of those which have been undertaken by Mr. McLennan, Mr. Tylor, and Sir John Lubbock. Comparative Mythology will have an important practical effect, if it is an important practical matter to understand the growth of religious ideas. Comparative Jurisprudence and, if the phrase may be allowed, Comparative Sociology, are pregnant with instruction to the statesman and the legislator because they hold out the best promise anywhere visible of an approximately sound theory of human progress, and thus of an approximately accurate test to try the suitability of executive measures, of legislative enactments, and of forms of Government, to national idiosyncrasies. Each of this family of subjects extends the methods of physical science severally to the examination of mythology, of law, and of the social institutions of mankind. That is the ground of the resemblance of these subjects to Comparative Philology. In consequence of this identity of method the whole group may be said to owe its origin to the transformation of philology into the science of language. It has been shown that the spell which produced that transformation was the study of Sanskrit by the Anglo-Indian literary antiquarian. It is thus that the torch of knowledge is passed from hand to hand. The original fire does not pale; and as each fresh hand grasps the torch there bursts forth a new flame as bright and as lasting as the first.

The word mythology, which literally means the telling of legends or tales, is popularly used to denote the belief of a nation or of a set of nations as to the existence and conduct of beings whose nature is celestial and immortal. It is in this sense that we speak of the mythology of the Greeks, that we call that system a mythology which set up Zeus as the king of heaven, which enthroned Hera beside him, and which made Athene spring full-armed from his head. In this popular signification mythology is not easily separable from religion. It may be said, indeed, that a mythology is a theogony without ethics, and without faith in the efficacy of prayer, or sacrifice, or asceticism. But the term is often used so as to

* Science of Language, Vol. 1, p. 11.

imply the ideas which that definition would exclude. A collection of stories about the actions of beings who can only be called supernatural because the limitations to which they are subject differ from those which control mankind, beings upon whose caprice or passion there is no restraint, or who are at best the slaves of an inexorable necessity, has no more claim to the title of a religion than Andersen's Fairy Tales or the Arabian Nights Entertainments have to the title of works on theology. But when prayers are offered up to the God who can grant rain to the thirsting soil, or when propitiatory sacrifices are made to an earth goddess, or when a devotee believes that fasting will exalt him above Vishnu, still more when the moral ideas of right and justice begin to be predicated of the gods, mythology merges in religion and becomes indistinguishable from it. It is this connection between mythologies and religions which lends to the study of mythologies its absorbing interest.

Of late years a technical meaning has attached itself to the term mythology. It is employed to indicate not a system of belief, but a particular form of mental error. Mythology often means the process whereby a phrase which was originally a metaphor is in course of time mistaken for the expression of a matter of fact; or more generally, it means any exhibition of the tendency to give a new and a wrong explanation of the meaning of a word of which the original signification has been forgotten, including the invention of stories to account for proper names. The metaphors which speak of the earth as the mother of all living things, and of the heaven as embracing the earth, are perfectly plain to us, and we are in no danger of being misled by them. But it was these metaphors which brought Ouranos and Gaia into being, and which made Zeus the lover of Demeter. Mythology, the process or mental tendency, is by no means confined to the production of theogonies. The mistakes which changed "*The Boulogne Gate*" into "*The Bull and Gate*," and "*The Bellerophon*" into "*The Billy Ruffian*," are mythology.* So is the legend of St. Christopher carrying Christ across the Red Sea, a tale plainly rising out of the etymology of the name of the Saint.† The personification of Virtue, Nature, Freedom is mythology as much as the confusion between *riksha* a bear and *riksha* a star which gave the inappropriate name of the Great Bear to the constellation of the Northern Wain.‡ In all these cases something was forgotten. The meaning of Boulogne was forgotten. It was forgotten that *riksha* meant 'bear' as well as 'star.' It was forgotten that Christopher was nothing whatever but the proper name of an individual who suffer-

* Max Müller, Science of Language, Second Series, p. 530.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 552-553.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 361-366.

ed martyrdom, and that Virtue, Nature and Freedom were nothing but abstract terms and not proper names at all. In each case mythology stepped in and supplied a substitute for that which memory had failed to retain.

It sounds like tautology to say that mythologies owe their existence to mythology. The origin, however, of theogonies and myths was not discovered till the Science of Language lifted the veil of mystery which shrouded them. Philology pointed to the mental infirmity, the "disease of language" which confused metaphor with fact. Philology also laid down the principle that the derivation of words was to be sought not merely in those languages in which they occur, but in the roots and in the forms the words assume in kindred languages and in the common sources of families of languages. It was the application of this principle to the names of mythological personages, that provided the clue to the interpretation of the myths and folk-lore of the Aryan nations. Here again the progress of knowledge was owing to the labours of the literary antiquarians.* The discovery of Sanskrit gave an impetus of exactly the same kind to the study of mythologies as that which it had given to the study of languages. It was seen that the mythologies of nations with a common descent must be explained together. The explanation became possible because many terms which in Greek and Latin and other languages had hardened into the mere names of imaginary beings, retained in Sanskrit their original shape of metaphor. Professor Max Müller has put this with admirable clearness. "You will see,"† he observes, "that a great point is gained in Comparative Mythology if we succeed in discovering the original meaning of the names of the gods. If we knew, for instance, what *Athene* or *Here* or *Apollo* meant in Greek, we should have something firm to stand on or to start from, and be able to follow more securely the later development of those names. We know, for instance, that *Selene* in Greek means moon, and knowing this, we at once understand the myth that she is the sister of *Helios*, for *helios* means sun;—and if another poet calls her *Euryphaëssa*, we are not much perplexed, for *euryphaëssa* meaning wide-shining, can only be another name for the dawn. If she is represented with two horns, we at once remember the two horns of the moon; and if she is said to have become the mother of *Erse* by *Zeus* we again perceive that *erse* means dew, and that to call *Erse* the daughter of *Zeus* and *Selene* was no more than if we, in our more matter-of-fact language, say that there is dew after a moonlight night. Now one great advantage in the Veda is that many of the names of the gods are still intelligible, are used, in fact, not only as proper names,

* Max Müller, Science of Language, † *Ibid.*, p. p. 410, 411.
Second Series, p. p. 404, 405.

"but likewise as appellative nouns. *Agni*, one of their principal "gods, means clearly fire; it is used in that sense; it is the same "word as the Latin *ignis*. Hence, we have a right to explain his "other names, and all that is told of him, as originally meant for "fire. *Váyu*, or *Váta* means clearly wind; *Marut* means storm; "*Parjanya* rain; *Savitar* the sun; *Ushas*, as well as its synonyms, "*Urvásti*, *Ahaná*, *Saranyá*, means dawn; *Prithiví* earth; "*Dyávdprithiví*, heaven and earth." In Greek the name of the Charities or Graces does not betray their origin. But when we trace the word *Charis* to its Sanskrit equivalent, we find that the *Harits* * were the horses which drew the chariot of Indra, and recognise in the bright companions of *Himeros* and the *Muses* one of the innumerable myths of the dawn. The Greek *Zeus* † and the Latin *Jupiter* are no more than names for the king of the gods. *Zeus* and the first syllable of *Jupiter* are identical with the Sanskrit *Dyaus*, derived from the root which yields *dyut* to learn, and *dyu* sky or day. *Zeus* and *Jupiter* are the beaming gods, personifications of the sunlit heaven. We know the Trojan *Paris* as the seducer of *Helen*. Mr. Cox ‡ identifies him with the Vedic *Pani* "who hides the bright cattle of Indra in his dismal caves,"—a personage in one of the myths of the alternations of day and night. Many of the Greek myths are perfectly transparent. We cannot mistake the meaning of the birth of *Aphrodite*, the foam-goddess, from the ocean stained with the blood of the mutilated *Ouranos*—the morning sun rises from the sea which is reddened by the glow that heralds the dawn.§ Obscure myths not only of Greece and Rome, but of the Aryan nations generally, are explained by the method indicated. Other myths, besides those which are properly theogonies, are analysed by the same process. Folk-lore which has never acquired a religious significance is traced to the sources whence sprang the tales of the *Erinyes*, of *Hermes*, and of *Herakles*. The conclusion is by no means that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the story of the *Volsungs*, and the *Nibelung Song*, the *Rámáyana* of *Hindustán*, and the Persian *Sháhnámeh* are borrowed the one from the other.|| But Comparative Mythology asserts that mythical phrases descriptive of the phenomena of nature, phrases in which sensuous imagery and the language of anthropomorphism were used to describe religious conceptions and physical facts, were the common property of the parent Aryan race, and that each of the many dispersed descendants has in its own way misunderstood, modified, and developed the

* Cox, *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, vol. i., p. 42.

† Max Müller. *Science of Language*. Second Series.

‡ Cox, *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, vol. i., p. 64; vol. ii., p. 327.

§ *Ibid*, vol. ii., p. 1.

Ibid, vol. ii., pp. 324, 325.

transparent primitive myths. Thus it has been discovered that one principal centre from which the Aryan mythologies have radiated is the cluster of metaphors which poetical imagination chose to express the course of the sun in heaven, the succession of the seasons, and the battles of wind and storm; although the forms ultimately assumed by the original myths may differ as much as the tale of the death of Achilles from the tale of the death of Baldar, or as the quest of the Golden Fleece from the legend of the Holy Grail. We may leave the great subject of Comparative Mythology with the remark that it has two points of contact with the observation of Indian phenomena. In the first place, the study of Sanskrit gave to the subject its present form. In the second place, the religious literature of India, including the comparatively recent modifications of the early Vedic faith, is perhaps the most rich and promising soil in which comparative mythologists could labour.

The passage from the unscientific to the scientific treatment of any subject is beset by peculiar intellectual dangers. Pitfalls of ambiguity waylay us at every step. Words alternately retain and discard their vague and popular and their restricted and technical significations. Until we have so far advanced as to have reached a fixed scientific terminology, we can only make sure of progress by frequent pauses to examine the ground on which we stand. It may be a question whether the discoveries of Comparative Jurisprudence are as yet sufficiently full and sufficiently certain to entitle it to the name of a science. At all events it involves the application of the methods of science to the phenomena of law. The theory of legal history, of the origin and development of legal ideas, has just emerged from the profound darkness which had been engendered by unscientific habits of thought. It is no wonder, therefore, that the mists of ambiguity still cling to both words in the phrase Comparative Jurisprudence. Perhaps enough has been said upon the sense in which the term Comparative is used in this article. It implies an exhaustive comparison, so far as that is possible; first, for the purpose of classification, and secondly, for the purpose of discovering the laws of growth and structure. The word Comparative is thus used in a signification more restricted than that in which it is popularly employed. On the other hand, by Jurisprudence, something more is meant than is included in the technical term of one school of jurists. Jurisprudence, in the well-known phrase of Austin, is the Philosophy of Positive Law. Comparative Jurisprudence deals with much that Austin and his followers would call positive morality. In every society some provision must be made for the distribution of property, for the repression of crime, and for the definition of the private and public conditions of individuals. It by no means follows that the provision

takes the form of precisely determined rules and principles. The more primitive the society, the higher is the probability that the customary observances, to which it is rather an undue contraction of language to refuse the name of laws, will be vague and shifting. Principles which have never been reduced to writing, which have never been codified, which have never been formally announced by authority, which are guarded by no definite sanction, which may be the mere opinions or sentiments of the majority of bodies of men, are the laws of early civilisation. Such principles are the subject matter of Comparative Jurisprudence equally with the sharply defined rules established and enforced by political superiors in the maturity of social life. Comparative Jurisprudence aims at the formation by wide and careful induction of an approximately sound theory of the progress of jural ideas, and of the legal institutions which are the outcome of jural ideas, from primitive to modern times.

Comparative Jurisprudence, thus understood, forms a part of a wider study which it is proposed to call Comparative Sociology. Sociology has been termed by John Stuart Mill a convenient barbarism.* The thing itself is as new as the application of scientific methods to the history of society and of the human mind. A new term is therefore necessary. Sociology is encumbered with precisely the same ambiguity as jurisprudence. Sociology may mean the theory of society as it ought to be, just as jurisprudence sometimes means the theory of laws which ought to be imposed or it may mean the theory of the progress of society as it has been, and the explanation of social forms which actually exist. It is in the latter sense that the word is used here. Sociological inquiry obviously includes inquiry into laws, and into the customs which in early societies are the substitute for laws strictly so called. It also includes much more. Language, mythology, religion, art, morals, politics, habits of life, all fall within its scope. The distinguishing mark of Comparative Sociology is that its investigations are made by the method which has been illustrated from Comparative Mythology and the science of language.

The end, then, of Comparative Sociology is the theory of social progress. Unquestionably, the comparative method must be the basis of the future philosophy of the origin and development of society. At the first touch of the historical method, the figments of *The Social Contract* and *The Law of Nature* melted into congenial air. The comparative method is not identical with the historical method,† but soon after the application of the com-

* Mill, *System of Logic*, vol. ii. p. 481.

† See Maine, *Village Communities in the East and West*, p. 6.

parative method to any given subject, the comparative method and the historical method seem to coincide. The reason of this is that in the departments of knowledge which have hitherto been treated by the comparative method, the law of development prevails. The historical method traces the successive stages in the growth of particular nations, or arts, or ideas. Whenever the Comparative method has been applied, successive stages of growth have been revealed by it. Nowhere does this effect of the comparative method appear more strikingly than in the light which the morphological classification of languages threw upon the history of language in general. The historical method destroyed the old theories of the origin of society and law by bringing them to the test of the ascertained facts of the past. The comparative method must re-construct, with materials drawn alike from the past and the present, a new edifice in place of the cloudy structure which the historical method has swept away. The limits of the two methods are not the same. The characteristic of history is that its aim is narrowed to a single set of objects. History is concerned with a given set of facts of a given description which occurred within a given time. These facts it must state according to the best evidence that can be obtained and these facts it must explain according to the most approved principles of psychology and social philosophy. The characteristic of social philosophy, using the term in the sense of the theory of social progress, is that it is co-extensive with the whole field of social facts and with the whole duration of human society. Social philosophy does not ask what were the events in the life of a particular nation, or what was the rise, progress, and decay of a particular institution or art or belief. It asks what are the successive periods in the development of the human race as a whole. History provides social philosophy with a part of the evidence upon which its generalisations may be founded. Social philosophy provides history with a part of the explanation of the facts which history details. The comparative method has become the method of social philosophy, as the historical method is the method of history. It is true that we cannot expect the comparative method to yield such clear and certain results in the fields of jural and social inquiry as it has produced in the study of languages and of myths. Not only are the phenomena of human society much more complex than the phenomena of language, but, as Sir Henry Maine has observed,* they are also much more at the mercy of individual volition. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot venture to hope for more than an approximation to truth in the explanation of

* *Village Communities in the East and West*, p. 5.

ancient and modern aspects of humanity. Just as a complete history of mankind, if its every chapter were to be rendered perfectly intelligible, would pre-suppose a complete social philosophy, so a complete social philosophy, could such be framed, would pre-suppose a complete account of the past and present of the world.

In the present age when the intellectual atmosphere is charged with physical science, and when flashes of new light, awakened by the methods of physical science, are bursting upon us from every quarter, the extension of those methods to the examination of human institutions and of the history of ideas was only a question of time. It cannot be said that this extension of method would not have taken place if Sanskrit had not been discovered. But there can be no doubt that the discovery of Sanskrit greatly accelerated the movement of the currents of speculation on society towards the direction in which they now flow. The discovery of Sanskrit, by leading to the discovery of the common origin of the Aryan nations, shifted all the land-marks of ancient history, and compelled historians to map out the past anew. This necessity arose just as the conditions of the mental climate of Europe had magnified the importance of accurate investigations into fact. The consequence was a great improvement in the modes of historical research. The past was called up from the dead to testify to the falsity of theories which had not quite perished. The actual facts of early society were compared with the systems of Locke and Rousseau; and the testimony which the historical method adduced cut away the last vestige of faith in the old ideas. The need, however, was felt for something to fill the gap which had been opened in social theory. As in the old German legend, the spear which had made the wound was the instrument which could heal it. The comparative method by its application to so much of the history of the human mind as is included in the history of language, had rendered inevitable the re-construction of ancient history and the destruction of all theories of society which did not ultimately rest on facts. It was seen that the comparative method would yield theories which rested upon that foundation. The light which suddenly emanated from philology when philology became a science, dispelled the past darkness and displayed the path of the future. That philology became a science is due, as it has been said, to the discovery of Sanskrit. Had not the first Anglo-Indian students devoted their leisure to Sanskrit literature, the rise of comparative philology, of comparative jurisprudence, and of comparative sociology, might have been delayed for many years.

It would be impossible in this sketch to give any adequate account of the large generalisations which comparative jurispru-

dence and the observation of early and savage communities have submitted to the modern reader. Still less can any attempt be made to estimate the value of propositions which have been tentatively advanced as laws of legal and social growth. The most that can be done is to mention very briefly some of the more celebrated assertions of which the original ground must again and again be examined by the future students of society, until those assertions have either been modified by the progress of induction or placed altogether beyond dispute.

The greater part of Sir Henry Maine's work on Ancient Law deals with periods in legal history subsequent to the formation of the family. He does not inquire how the relationships of father and son, of husband and wife, of master and slave, came to be recognised. The lines which he quotes from the Odyssey as illustrative of the earliest state of mankind pre-suppose marriage, as we understand it, because they speak of wives and children as specially connected with one man.* The department of study which has been called comparative sociology penetrates farther back into the history of the race. Sir John Lubbock has collected a large amount of evidence as to the practices of savage nations, and he expresses his conclusions by saying that the natural progress of ideas of relationships is; "first, that a child "is related to his tribe generally; secondly, to his mother and "not to his father; thirdly, to his father and not to his mother; "lastly, and lastly only, that he is related to both."† Sir Henry Maine takes the social group of which the type is the Roman family united under the power of the father as the starting point of his observations. He expressly says that to the question— what are the motives which originally prompted men to hold together in the family union? Jurisprudence, unassisted by other sciences, is not competent to give a reply.‡ The reply recently suggested is that marriage owes its origin to the disposition to permit to individuals the exclusive enjoyment of what they had won in war. Differing from Mr. McLennan, Sir John Lubbock believes that exogamy or the custom of always marrying out of the tribe arose from marriage by capture, and "that capture and capture alone "could give a man the right to monopolise a woman to the exclusion of his fellow clansmen; and that hence, even after all necessity for actual capture had long ceased, the symbol remained; "capture having by long habit come to be received as a necessary preliminary to marriage.§" However repulsive the view

* τοῖσιν δ' οὐτ' ἀγορᾷ βουλ-
ηφόροι οὐτε θέμιστες.
 Θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος.
παῖδων ἢ δ' ἀλόχων οὐδ' ἀλλήλων
ἀλέγουσιν.

Maine's Ancient Law, p. 124.

† The Origin of Civilisation p. 130.

‡ Maine's Ancient Law, p. 270.

§ Lubbock. Origin of Civilisation,
pp. 83-84.

may appear to us that in the earliest forms of social union marriage was unknown, and that the tie was first made by violence and against the will of the woman, it is obviously most important to know whether that view is correct. This is one of the innumerable questions in which great service may be done to the advancement of knowledge by applying to the results of European thought the test of Indian experience. What is needed is evidence collected by persons able to estimate its value and to understand the kind of evidence required,—evidence such as the Aryan and Non-Aryan races of British India will supply in abundance. One class of facts would prove exceptionally useful. It has been remarked that the comparative method has always led to the recognition of laws of development. The comparative method has pointed to the presence, in communities which are in some degree advanced, of those phenomena which have been aptly termed "Survivals." Institutions outlast their purposes. But institutions were not founded without reasons which seemed sufficient to those whose conscious or unconscious action established them. As society grows and its character changes, the grounds of many of its rules and customs shift and finally sink by the force of the changes themselves. The old principles and practices are either totally abandoned, or endure still bearing traces of their origin plainly perceptible through modified forms, or are maintained for reasons which are perfectly new, and which are the results of new social needs. We do not now consider that mutilation of the head and face adds to personal attractiveness, or that masculine charms are enhanced by tattooing the body. Yet, European ladies pierce their ears, and the Tichborne case shows that the practice of tattooing is not wholly obsolete even amongst English gentlemen. The mock resistance of the bride which is common to so many nations, and the widely spread custom forbidding the relatives of the bride to speak to the relatives of the bridegroom, and the relatives of the bridegroom to speak to the relatives of the bride, are traces of a time when marriage by capture was a stern reality.* In their funeral ceremonies the Chinese burn paper images in honour of the dead. The Romans used to throw dolls into the Tiber as a substitute for human sacrifices. Each of those observances is a survival, indicating the former prevalence of cruelties like those of Dahomey, and of immolations analogous to Suttee. The value of survivals is that they are the best proof obtainable that the society in which they occur* has passed through the phases with which the institutions represented by the survivals were associated before the atrophy produced by progress had set in. Like the rudimentary organs in animal

nature, survivals point back to a time when that which has withered by disuse was animated with energy and purpose; although the purpose may have implied lower habits of life. No more useful contribution could be made to the literature of comparative sociology than an account of Indian survivals.

The earlier chapters of "Ancient Law" enunciate a theory of the development of law from an epoch later than that which is characterised by the "insulated groups held together by obedience to the parent."* "Themistes" are judicial decisions, isolated judgments dictated to the judges in each separate case by divine inspiration.† As "Themistes" are pronounced by a sovereign, families, it is said, must not only have been formed before the period of "Themistes" but also have been united in some crude political organisation.‡ In the "Themistes" Sir Henry Maine sees the germ of the law of advanced communities.§ The progress is through the gradual accretion of a body of customary law,|| to the publication of that law in primitive codes¶ of which the best known example is the Twelve Tables of Rome. Then follow the means by which, in progressive societies, the old law is brought into harmony with new social requirements as they continually arise. These are legal fictions, equity, and legislation.** Legal fictions are assumptions which conceal or affect to conceal "the fact that a rule of law has undergone alteration, its letter remaining unchanged, its operation being modified." The examples given are English Case Law, and the Roman *Responsa Prudentum*. Equity and Legislation are distinguished from legal fictions by the circumstance that the interference with the law is open and avowed, being the result of the conscious application to states of fact of moral principles which are regarded as superior to those underlying the old law, or of direct legislative enactment. A clear and succinct theory of this kind gives to the inquirer a tangible object to examine. It opens to the Anglo-Indian two distinct paths of investigation. There is much evidence of the existence amongst the Non-Aryan races of India of forms of Communal marriage, and therefore of a state of society antecedent to the formation of families. One problem is, what are the aspects which the customary observances supplying the place of laws assume in societies of this exceedingly primitive description? The other problem is, do the histories of Hindu and Muhammadan law support a generalisation which has been framed, not, indeed, entirely but principally, from the facts of the past of Europe? These questions are mentioned not

* Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 125.

† *Ibid.*, p. 4, et seq.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

** *Ibid.*, p. 25, et seq.

as exhausting the suggestions which the theory offers, but as examples of a class of problems with which Indian observation should deal.

Amongst the many profound remarks of Sir Henry Maine none seems more likely to resist the attacks of criticism and none has obtained a speedier popular acceptance than the formula that progress has been a movement from status to contract. Status means the personal conditions which are derived from the family union. The man who inherits from his forefathers the whole of his legal clothing of rights and duties, who finds a niche in the legal relations of life ready for him which he is only to occupy, is under Status. In so far as rights and duties are acquired and imposed not by birth but by the voluntary effort and consent of individuals, Status has given way to Contract. Status fixed the legal position of the Female under Tutelage, and of the Son and the slave under the power of the father of the family. Contract fixes the legal position of the woman who disposes of her own hand in marriage, of the child of full age who can sue and be sued by his father, and of the workman who possesses a recognised right to strike. The great interest to Indian administrators of this law of final development is that if the law of persons and the law of liberty are not really distinguishable in archaic societies a new stimulus is given to reflection upon Indian proprietary right. Before British rule, was that which the introduction of modern juristical conceptions has stamped with the name of property in land a more personal right to a certain quantity of produce, a mere personal right to support based in family relationship or tribal subordination? Or did rights of cultivation sometimes wear that shape, and sometimes appear in forms analogous to those rights over the soil in Teutonic Europe which the contact of Roman Law metamorphosed into feudalism? In what Indian societies, and at what point in their development, did the conception of a distinct proprietary right to a definite portion of the earth's surface, whether vested in village communities, in families, or in individuals, take the place of a personal right to maintenance as against the father of the family or the head of the tribe? The analogies between the village communities of the East and West have been dwelt upon by Sir Henry Maine in his last work. But it is obvious that village communities do not exist "by nature." Even in India the village community is not the ultimate social fact. Many stages of growth must have occurred before the formation of so complex a group as the ordinary Indian village. Although legal inquiry may perhaps be satisfied to begin with the village community, social inquiry demands to know how the village community arose. Evidence calculated to throw light upon this point should be collected, by all those who have the

opportunity, more especially by officers whose duty calls them to the borders of the empire or to hills peopled by wild and barbarous tribes.

It is not often that a course which is eminently desirable in the interests of science is seen at first sight to coincide with a course which promises extrication from immediate practical difficulties. Allusion has been made to the Panjáb Laws Act, and to the Oudh Laws Bill now before the Legislative Council. It is not easy to understand how the provisions with regard to customary law will be effectively administered unless means are taken to provide the Courts with written records of custom. No one who has had any experience at all of the vagueness of Indian judicial evidence can doubt for a moment that if the rule of custom has to be proved in every suit which falls under the sections relating to custom, the tendency of the Hindu and Muhammadan law to supplant local custom, the very tendency, in fact, which the sections are designed to counteract, will scarcely receive a check. In England there is a body of Case Law which defines custom and the legal proof of custom with sufficient accuracy. In India custom has received no such definition. And if we require the same proof of custom in the courts of the Panjáb and Oudh as would be required by the Courts at Westminster, so much of each Act as relates to custom will practically remain a dead letter. We shall have proclaimed to the Sikhs and the Patháns and the Beluchis that we are about to grant them their own customary laws, and we shall go on administering the elaborate system of the Hindu and Muhammadan jurists.

Much stress has very properly been laid upon the importance of rescuing district and settlement records from destruction, and of interpreting their technicalities in such a way as to render the facts they contain available for the information of the general public. There are few tasks more useful than the examination of these documents, and the compendious statement of their results. But these documents are, in the legal phrase, no more than secondary evidence of the social state of India, and, like all historical evidence, they cannot be expanded at pleasure. If we really want to know what the customs and ideas of the people are, the best and the simplest plan is to go and ask the people themselves. In recent Panjáb settlements it has been the practice to compile statements of tribal and local custom called in the vernacular *Riváj A'm*. These statements of tribal and local custom originated in the Village Administration Paper,—an account of the tenures, mutual rights and duties, and customary observances of the village proprietors and the village servants, which was drawn up for each village separately at the first settlement of land. Subsequently it was seen that customs were in some cases coextensive

with the tribe, and in other cases coextensive with localities of considerable size, and that thus large bodies of custom prevailing in wide circles, might be recorded at a single stroke. Accordingly local and tribal records have been made in some districts, where the village administration paper contains no more than the matters which relate exclusively to the constitution of the village as such, and the exceptions, if any, to the general custom of the locality or tribe. The main object of these compilations has been the collection in writing of rural usages affecting land. It is obvious that the customs which have acquired the force of law under the Panjáb Laws Act might be compiled in a precisely similar way. A series of questions might be composed calculated to elicit exhaustive answers on all the subjects mentioned in the section of the Act which has recognised the customs of the country as law. These questions might be put to the headmen of tribes and villages in public assembly throughout the whole province, taking every district in succession. The answers might be received by a responsible officer, and to the record thus framed the force of a settlement record might be communicated; that is to say, the Courts would presume the statement of custom contained in the record to be true, and the burden of proof would be on those who impugned it. There would then be no danger of the introduction of a rule of Hindu or Muhammadan law. It is probable that the recorded statement of custom would scarcely ever be contested. Whatever may be thought of the necessity of the scheme proposed from the point of view of the exigencies of administration, there can be no question but that a full record of Panjáb custom would be of inestimable value to the student of primitive juridical ideas.

Of course the Indian phenomena to which this article refers are not the physical phenomena of the Indian continent, but the phenomena of Indian society. Justice will no doubt be done to botany, geology, and kindred sciences in the Imperial Gazetteer which is now under preparation. The Imperial Gazetteer will also deal with statistics. To those who feel any sympathy with the native sarcasm which gives to Anglo-Indian rule the name of the Reign of Statistics—*Nabsha ká ráj*—the observation made by Dr. Hunter* that statistics form an indispensable complement of civilisation may seem a disputable proposition, if the kind of civilisation meant be that which we can introduce into India. To collect Indian statistics is no doubt one method of observing Indian phenomena. But the sort of observation which is of most use to the student of human development is concerned rather with the nature than with the number of the facts observed. It is

* *Annals of Rural Behgal*, p. 260.

far more important, for example a clue to the interpretation of the social standing of Hindus, that we should know the conditions of marriage amongst them and the ideas which are associated with the tie, than that we should have more or less accurate information as to the number of marriages which take place in a given district within a given time. The importance of statistics in their most direct and obvious bearing upon practical administration is in no danger of being underrated. The proportion of male to female births in particular places is of the utmost consequence in connection with the suppression of infanticide. There is no other method of testing new measures designed to check particular offences than to collect and compare the number of offences and convictions subsequent to the amendment of the case with the number under the law before the amendment was made. The increasing pressure of population on the soil, and the degree in which irrigation works or the introduction of new industries may be brought to relieve that pressure, can only be estimated by numerical statements. These considerations are so obvious that it is needless to dwell upon them. It is sufficient to remark that, to the jurist and to the student of social progress, proofs of the prevalence of crimes of a certain class or of the excess of one sort of occupation over another, are chiefly valuable in so far as they throw light upon the whole social condition of the people. The statesman wishes to know what is the effect of his policy and he turns to statistics for his evidence; not because statistics are unimpeachable, but because they are the best evidence he can obtain. The student of social progress inquires what crimes and what occupations are most prevalent, not before or after a particular enactment, but amongst people of a given social type. Statistics supply him with a partial answer. But unless he is able to connect the facts which are supplied by statistics with the known ideas and other known habits of the people, statistics are for him comparatively unfruitful. It is not sufficient for him to know that amongst the agricultural communities of India the most usual form of proprietary right is joint-ownership, and that cattle-theft and house-breaking are the most frequent offences against property. He must be able to explain why land should be held in common, and how it happens that Indian thieves are specially prone to drive off their neighbour's cattle, and to dig through their neighbour's walls. There is, however, one function of statistics which the Indian press can never stamp with too much emphasis. The reign of statistics might also be called the reign of political economy. But statistics are to political economy what constitutions are to hereditary kings. Political economy is apt to become a most mischievous tyrant, unless the limits of its power are known and acted on. It cannot be repeated too often that the de-

ductions of political economy, so far as they rest on moral and psychological principles, not on physical facts, are based upon hypotheses which are not strictly true even of the mercantile countries of Europe, and which are very far indeed from the truth in a land so much under the sway of custom as the British empire in the East. It is not true, it is very far from the truth, that the landlords and tenants of India are guided in the pursuit of wealth solely by an enlightened view of their self-interest. It is not true, it is very far from the truth, that Indian artisans whose hereditary employments fail them will turn their hands to trades yielding an equal or superior return. The doctrine of "*Laissez faire*" may be an admirable doctrine in countries where industry and enterprise are strong, capital abundant, and intelligence widely diffused. But we cannot afford to act upon the doctrine of "*Laissez faire*" in India. We must continually be on our guard to test the theorems of political economy by an appeal to actual facts. Statistics provide the instrument by which to measure the amount of truth which those theorems contain when applied to Indian society.

The evils which have resulted from the juxtaposition of a highly civilised people with the primitive races of this country afford a fertile theme to those who are more prompt to be indignant at wrong than able to view with justice the inevitable difficulties of Indian Government. The British rule, it is admitted, has extirpated thugs, abolished suttee, diminished infanticide, repressed brigandage, and put an end to the wars of Indian potentates. But, it is urged, the life of the people is neither happier nor better than it was in the old days. For the exactions of native rulers we have substituted a systematic taxation, of which the incidence is more severely felt, partly because the economical principles of taxation are far less intelligible to the native mind than the arbitrary fiat of a despot, and partly because rebellion, the last resource of desperate men, is known by sad experience to be hopeless. If we have extinguished the crimes of a turbulent society, we are also extinguishing its virtues, and are arming the cunning and the unscrupulous with the might that belonged to the brave and the strong. We have gloried in "breaking down the barriers of caste and creed;" and in declaring, according to the most approved principles of jurisprudence, that in the eye of the law all men are equal, and, according to the most approved principles of political economy, that all men must equally be left to take care of themselves. But we have failed to perceive or have forgotten that native morality has neither been largely affected by commerce nor subjected to the influences of Roman law and Christian doctrine. Native morality, if we except that of the more respectable merchants who have learnt in trade the pecuniary value of good-

faith, is at its best coextensive with the family or the tribe, not with mankind at large. In primitive societies robbery is not distinguished from legitimate warfare; and we are indeed deluded if we suppose that because dacoity is punishable under the Indian Penal Code a stranger has ceased to be regarded as an enemy whom any one may righteously plunder by cheating if he dare not plunder him in arms. Our eager encouragement of the growth of individual right and our contempt for caste distinctions are surely undermining the only kind of morality that the people possess, and for the foundations we remove we have absolutely nothing to substitute that could be accepted by the natives. The people may have been rescued from the tender mercies of hereditary tyrants, but they have been delivered over to the tender mercies of perjured usurers and corrupt subordinate officials. The Village Communities are breaking up. In these peaceful times, loyalty to the caste, to the clan, to the family, has become superfluous. Any peasant can bring a suit against his brother or prefer a false charge against the head of his tribe. The people are rapidly learning the lesson which law teaches, to treat all men alike; and this means that men are beginning to cheat their fathers and sons and brethren of the clan, with as little compunction as would have been felt in old times for the pillage of a passing caravan or the sack of a distant homestead. We may have rebuilt a shattered empire.

• But the superstructure is crushing the society on which it rests. However extravagant many of these charges may appear, it is impossible not to own that in some of them there is a certain substratum of truth. Easy as it would be to take up a brief for defence or extenuation on each count of the indictment, that task would be beyond the present purpose. Whether our rule has hitherto been beneficial to the people, or has merely introduced a new order of evils in place of the old order of evils which it has swept away, history alone can decide. For the future there is good hope. Our knowledge of the Indian races is becoming fuller, clearer, and more systematic. Above all, the increase of attention to the philosophy of past progress is teaching us to realise distinctly the depth of the gulf which severs primitive from modern ideas. The danger of supposing our own institutions and our own hypothetical deductions to be of universal application, and of misinterpreting the institutions of the country, is diminishing day by day. Considering the large advance in science which is due to Indian studies, the most despondent and the most indignant champions of impracticable ideals may surely look back upon the past of British India with as much pride as regret. Whatever be the view taken of the effect of English Government upon the happiness of people, there is one conception of

the significance of Indian conquest which cannot fail to bring consolation to those who at heart desire the service of humanity. It may be that the Hindu or Musalmán who has acquired a smattering of English literature or a smattering of Anglo-Indian Law is no better and no wiser than his forefathers. It may be that the countryman whose fields are never safe from the machinations of the village banker, is no happier than his ancestors who any day might see from the village tower of refuge their harvest swept off by a raid. We may not have added an inch to the moral stature of "our Aryan brother," or lightened his burden by the weight of a straw. But this is beyond question,—that all thorough investigation by rigorously scientific methods in Language, in Mythology, in Juridical History, and in Social Philosophy will yield good fruit in due time. To discover, analyse, and explain Indian phenomena is to enlarge human experience, and to contribute with certainty to the advance of human development by the sure improvement of its theory.

The general conclusion is plain. It is that the investigation of Indian phenomena should be conducted, as it now is being conducted, on those principles which regulate inquiry into every department of merely human knowledge. It is not suggested that no knowledge is attainable except such as can emerge scatheless from the tests of that logic which the history of the inductive sciences has elaborated. That question is very far beyond the present scope. It is maintained that if we would understand the facts of the society which it is our fate to disintegrate and which it is our duty to reconstruct, we must set about our task armed with those methods of observation and reasoning which have already produced such great results in Philology, Mythology, and Jurisprudence. The extreme complexity of the facts before us, and the necessity that these facts should be examined with a full consciousness of their connection with similar facts in the past and present of Europe and of other parts of the world, are the great difficulties in our way. Yet we can have confidence in the Comparative Method, and can believe that no truthful analysis of customs which actually obtain, and of ideas which form the mental stock of the people we govern, can fail to be of service to those whose experience and information is other than our own although directed to the same end. In this faith we should patiently vivisect the society that lives and moves before us, conscientiously recording what we see with our own eyes, and hear with our own ears, in the certainty that such labours will supply knowledge of great value to Indian statesman, and data of great utility to men of modern learning, whose aim it is to explain human progress by ascertaining the origin and marking the successive phases of Language and Law and Society.

These remarks have not been made with any affectation of knowledge which it would take a life time to acquire. They have arisen spontaneously from a very obvious course of reading, and from a very short acquaintance with some of the practical difficulties of Indian rule. There is no pretence of original research in the vast subjects which have been handled. Some of the reflections offered may possibly be novel; but they are based upon facts which have been collected by others. The recognised authorities have been used, and have been used freely. It is hoped that the attempt to gather into a single focus a few of the rays of light which recent investigations have thrown upon the manner in which the languages, the ideas, and the social peculiarities of ancient and modern India should be observed, and to connect the kindling of the new spirit of inquiry with past history of Indian studies, may prove in some degree interesting and perhaps even suggestive to those who care to understand the nation whose affairs they administer.

C. LEWIS TUPPER.

THERMOPYLÆ.

Leonidas the Spartan

That wave-washed pass hath ta'en,
Where, mid dark oak-crowns, Mount Ceta frowns
Over the fair blue main.
Calm he awaits, at those famed sea-gates,
The rush of the Persian host,
While his spears' glad sheen gleams bright between
The mountain and the coast.

Light-hearted, as when one who runs
In the great Olympian race,
Feels that the mighty crowd full soon
Will hail him first in place ;
So, thro' the gazing ranks he strains
Exultant toward the goal,
Though o'er his joy-thrilled heart not yet
The shouts of victory roll.

Now the high festal Days assert
Their venerable reign,
Where the summer moon's soft glory floods
Alphæus' sacred plain ;
Where to hold the proud Carneian games
The Spartan warriors throng,
And the victor-minstrels' chants resound
Eurotas' shores along.

And though against them speed amain
The myriads of the East,
Nathless the Greeks thro' Pelops' land
Will keep their solemn feast ;—
Will keep the feast with splendour meet
Meanwhile Leonidas,
Obedient to the State's command,
Till death will hold the pass.

Three hundred chosen men-at-arms
That glorious Chief surround,
Who ever on the battle-day
First in the front are found.

The flower of all the band are they,
Who march with him to war,
Each in his mail of proof shines clear
And glittering as a star.
Bright memories haunt the hallowed ground,
The soft enchanted air,
Northward, Pelides' well-loved stream
Steals thro' the valley fair.
Lo, stately Ceta towers aloft !
Where Zeus' immortal son
Rose from his couch of fire to heaven,
His earthly sufferings done.
The Spartan loves no chase so well,
As the wary foe to track,
No music like the joyous flutes
That sound to the attack :
The war-shout thrills his cold, proud breast
With passionate delight,
As in Pyrrhic play on a festal day,
So bounds he to the fight.
But woe to him who trembles,
Or falters in the field,
Woe to the shuddering coward
Who throws away his shield !
Henceforth an outcast, loathed and shunned,
He treads his native earth,
The jest of old and young—yea, spurned
By her who gave him birth.
Now o'er Olympus' snow-crowned height
The Persian King sweeps on,
South thro' Thessalia's smiling vales
From savage Macedon.
Achaia shakes beneath his tread,
He skirts the Malian sea,
And, awful in repose, lies camped
By stern Thermopylæ.
Now, as the Persian hordes surged near,
Rejoicing in their might,
Chill terror seized and froze the Greeks,
And their hearts grew ripe for flight ;
But the King's voice is as a god's,
That voice they all obey,
Still 'gainst the foe the pass they keep
Submissive to his sway.

Lo ! where the Spartans guard the wall ;
 They wrestle and they run,
 As careless men, who lie at ease,
 After a victory won.
 As happy boys at play they sport
 In the soft translucent air,
 Or in the grateful shade reclined,
 They comb their flowing hair.

" Now tell me, Demaratus,
 What manner o' men be they,
 Who, blithe as guests expect the feast,
 Await the battle-day ?
 Brave champions have I seen, but ne'er
 Since mortal man drew breath,
 Heard I of those who, even as babes,
 Smile in the face of death. "

" Sir King, " said he, " that smile's more dread
 Than other warriors' frown ;
 Stern as the fir-capp'd peaks are they,
 That o'er their land look down.
 Thy myriads may not quell their *hearts* ;
 No victory shalt thou know,
 Till each and all have fallen in fight,
 Their faces to the foe ! "

Now, flushed with proud ancestral fame,
 The haughty Medes rush on,
 " This hour, " they say, " shall wash away
 The stain of Marathon. "
 Vainly they vaunt, who ne'er had met
 With foes untaught to yield,
 Their javelins break, like brittle reeds,
 Against the mighty shield.

On to the front, Hydarnes !
 Defeat thou may'st not know,
 When Xerxes views thee from above,
 The Immortals charge below !
 But as out to sea storm-beaten rocks
 The thundering billows fling,
 Even so the Spartans hurl them back,
 And thrice up-sprang the King.

His stern eyes flash with the rage and hate
 That a baffled despot knows,
 But proud and glad as a victor-god
 Each Grecian warrior glows.

No other land, nor other age
Such a feat of arms might boast,
For two long days they had fought and won,—
A handful 'gainst a host.

But who is he, who with stealthy tread,
As a murderer in his flight,
Steals wolf-like toward the Persian camp,
Thro' the deepening, dim twilight?
They seize him at the outer guard,
He kneels before the King—

“Now tell me true, thou craven Greek,
What tidings may'st thou bring?”

“A gloomy mountain-path there is,
That winds o'er Ceta's crown,
And to the eastward of the pass,
Thro' the woodlands dark goes down :—
Give me, O King, rich store of gold,
And I will be thy guide,
And lead thee, swooping on their rear,
Adown the mountain-side !”

Thus Ephialtes, and henceforth
His thrice-accursed name,
Glares thro' the darkness of the past,
In characters of flame.
Amid the traitors of all-time
The Prince and Chief is he,
Who led the Persian, when the Greek
Fell at Thermopylæ.

'Tis now the first watch of the night,
And every sound is still,
The waves are sleeping on the sea,
The leaves upon the hill.
When up that wild and lonely track,
Far o'er Asopus' flood,
Hydarnes, and his armed men,
Press hotly thro' the wood.

High up the rough ascent they toil,
They spurn inglorious rest,
Till, as the reddening Morn blushed fair,
Iso, Ceta's shaggy crest !
Where a thousand Phocian men-at-arms
Near the mountain-summit stand,
Well may they keep that perilous steep,
Who guard their own loved land !

Each in his place the foe they face,
 With glittering helm and spear,
 When thro' the silence of the dawn
 The rustling leaves they hear.
 But they turn and yield the bloodless field,
 As the scathing arrows flew,
 Faithless to Freedom and to Greece,
 To their own selves untrue.

Now, in prophetic signs well-skilled,
 And ancient mystic lore,
 Megistias the sooth-sayer
 Hath conned his victims o'er.
 But when the Greeks gazed on his face,
 The boldest scarce drew breath,
 Clear in his awe-struck eyes they read
 Their onward-rushing death.

Now downward thro' the wood the scouts
 Are hurrying on amain,
 Dread sounds the beat of their flying feet,
 As toward the camp they strain—
 And far and fast, like a trumpet-blast,
 The warning voice sounds clear,
 "All's lost, ye may not save the pass,
 The Persian's in the rear!"

Then, calm amid the tumult,
 Leonidas uprose,
 But his eyes flashed bright with the battle-light,
 As a stormy sunset glows.
 "Most shameful life, most glorious death,—
 Let others choose who will!
 But, Spartans, *we* must keep our ground,
 And fight the Passage still.

"What death more blest than thus to fall
 For Sparta in the ranks!
 Though we ne'er may tread on summer-eves
 Eurotas' flowery banks;
 Though we may rouse the deer no more
 Thro' the fair Laconian glades,
 But Hermes, with relentless wand,
 Shall lead us to the shades.

„How could we seek our fathers' homes,
 And to the people say,—
 Back have we come, who dared not throw
 Our well-loved lives away?

How could we face our warrior-peers,

Or the haughty matrons greet ?

Our city's very stones would rise,

And spurn our coward feet !

" Not this the choice of Heracles,

Our ancestor divine,

Nor this the choice of a Spartan King,

Of his old heroic line.

Nor, Spartans, yours, from the lineage proud,

Of the Dorian victors sprung,

For whom Terpander tuned his lyre,

For whom Tyrtæus sung.

" So, with calm brows and joyful hearts,

On, brothers, to the fight,

And future generations

Our epitaph shall write,

How three hundred Spartans fought and fell,

By the the side of the murmuring seas,

Led by Leonidas the King,

Of the race of Heracles ! "

Thus he, whereat his warriors cheered,

And the mighty battle-shout,

Breathing their terrible resolve,

O'er cliff and wave rang out,

And firm the men of Thespiæ stood,

From age to age goes down,

Linked with the glorious Spartan name,

Their blood-bought high renown.

'Twas then that Dieneceæ

Those deathless words out-spoke,

That cling to his bright name for aye,

As ivy round an oak.

' Their shafts,' said one, " o'ercloud the sun,

And art thou not dismayed ? "

' Not so, by royal Zeus,' said he,

" We fight them in the shade ! "

But now the foes were closing in

Before them and behind,

And they rushed forth to meet their death,

With a stern but tranquil mind,

And their bosoms throbbed with a god-like joy,

As the lofty Dorian strain

Burst glorious from the stormy flutes,

Far-sounding o'er the main.

As a mountain-torrent thunders down
Toward a vast majestic grave,
Where the great sea foams against the shore,
Fierce rolling wave on wave. *
And the blue streak cleaves the billows green,
Swift darting from the land,—
Even so the Persian and the Greek
Are fighting hand-to-hand.

Full many a deed was wrought that day,
The brave man thrills to hear ;
Full many a high-souled chieftain felt
The weighty Spartan spear.
For the Greeks have left the sheltering wall,
They sally from the pass,
And drive the Persian toward the sea,
And the terrible morass.

Till their stalwart arms are weak they strike,
And the boldest foemen quail,
Till the javelins, dyed in many a heart,
Are shivered on the mail :
Then flashed the well-tried swords, but now,
As the deadly Persian ring
Draws close—as falls a tower, so fell
Leonidas the King.

But the breast of each Greek warrior swelled
With a great and glorious grief ;
They yield no ground, but fight around
The body of their Chief.
Four times the myriads of the East
Press on to the attack,
Four times the unconquered sons of Greece
Have hurled those myriads back !

But as the battle raged amain,
The call of Death they hear,
When Hydarnes down the mountain-track
Comes surging on the roar.
Back toward the pass their way they cleft,
With dauntless mien and proud,
Though wounded sore, their Chief they bore
Through the fatal arrow-cloud.

A gently-rising slope there is
Within the narrow way,
Where, faint and bleeding, but unquelled,
The heroes stand at bay:

And calm—yea, joyous as before,
 When charging in the van,
 Around their Leader's well-loved corpse,
 Fall fighting to a man.
 So fought, so died the Greeks. They laid
 The warriors where they fell,
 Where the mighty murmuring Ocean chants
 His passionate farewell.
 Where the far-resounding billows break—
 What sepulchre more meet
 Than the dust, that, when they rushed to war,
 Was hallowed by their feet?
 And though the unconquerable Pass*
 Be conquered by the main,
 Though the snowy columns shine no more
 Near bright Demeter's fane:
 'Tis graven on the hearts of men,
 And through all Time shall ring,
 How the Spartans and the Thespians fell,
 With Leonidas the King.

C. A. KELLY.

* "The pass itself was never stormed by main force. The waters of the Malian Gulf have retired so far to the north-east as to extend what was once a narrow defile into a broad and swampy plain"—*Wordsworth's Greece*.

